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B 1,209,371



PUBLICATIONS 68303-
OF THE
Modern Language Association
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
JAMES W. BRIGHT
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XI
NEW SERIES, VOL. IV

BALTIMORE
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & COMPANY
1896

805-

M 69

43 p.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1896.

VOL. XI, 1.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IV, 1.

I.—FAUSTO, A GAUCHO POEM.

It is ever a source of regret to anyone interested in the glorious Argentine, lying under the Southern Cross, that its name cannot be mentioned, even casually, without its suggesting revolutions, uprisings, financial distress and ruin. It is an association accepted without question. To speak of that land and not touch upon revolutions, would be like airing one's impressions of *Hamlet* without mentioning the noble Dane himself. This comparison is somewhat venerable, to be sure, when one considers its three hundred winters and as many summers, but it is singularly suggestive with regard to La Plata, since it points to something being decidedly "rotten in the State." The latter thought, however, is not apt to disturb the equanimity of the average Argentine mind. To the native of that favored country a revolution is no more out of the normal order of things than is a cyclone to our own Western people.

A different condition of affairs, on the other hand, is always a source of much disquietude. During the long interregnum that preceded the very justifiable revolution of 1890 in Buenos

Ayres, the people of the Argentine became very uneasy over the uninterrupted reign of peace and tranquillity; a couple hitherto unknown in those regions. Every one felt as if a cataclysm might unexpectedly disrupt the country beyond repair. It was like standing upon a mine of untold dimensions with its fatal match burning, no one knew where. The mine did explode in the course of time, but judge of the general relief when it turned out to be nothing but a plain, ordinary uprising, accompanied by the joyous sound of cannon and musketry, the same familiar old tune, to which from father to son, Argentines had danced for the last seventy years.

The outside world might as usual have shrugged its shoulders with more or less good-nature and muttered trite jokes about the peculiar methods adopted by South American countries to keep their blood and paper money in circulation. But it soon became evident that this was not one of the ordinary perennial expressions of public feeling in the Argentine; it was something requiring consideration; it was "*le grand bouquet*," one might say, of rioplatense revolutionary pyrotechnics; one that precipitated a volcanic financial crisis which shook the foundations of the world's monetary circles and shattered the edifice of Argentine credit. The world therefore stood aghast, almost terrified by the resounding crash of money sinking with the wreck of vast enterprises, and its admiring respect for Argentina rose in proportion to the depth of the hole made in its own finances.

That the world at large should be amazed by anything of the sort, is in reality a source of wonderment to anyone even slightly acquainted with the domestic history of countries where—"every day they make new loans and holders whistle for coupons; where Red and Whites fight every day and foreigners the piper pay." Be this as it may, Europeans are not easily discouraged, for European capital and European emigration continue to flow into La Plata; and why? Not only because of the ordinary human being's innate belief, an' it please messires the pessimists, in the ultimate righting of

things, but also because of the marvelous recuperative power of a country, which justifies this confidence in its future by the most solid of all arguments, irreputable figures. Not to speak of other greater industries, the country which thirteen years ago imported 6,000,000 bushels of wheat from the United States, has this year with only one-twentieth of its 1,100,000 square miles area under cultivation, nearly 50,000,000 bushels for export demand, or 50 per cent. more than the quantity exported in the year just closed.¹ It is very much a custom to draw invidious comparisons between the English and Spanish Americas, and speculate upon the great things that might have been, had the latter been settled by the Anglo-Saxon. People of this race feel much contempt and little sympathy for nations who have retarded their own civilization and material progress by a too thoughtless indulgence of individual opinion.

There are two characteristics, indeed, which draw a broad line of separation between the Anglo-Saxon and the so-called Neo-Latin races peopling this American Continent. The former possess to an admirable degree that modest spirit of calculation which prevents one from seeking anything higher than number one, and it may be this consideration alone which keeps them, good fighters as they are, from fighting for the mere fun of the thing. With their fellow Continentals of Neo-Latin origin this is, unfortunately perhaps, not the case. As to whether or not they can always distinguish what is truly to their advantage, is a matter of serious doubt; but as to whether they fight for the fun of it, involves no question; the evidence is strongly in favor of the affirmative. No one will deny them the noble qualities of a noble race, or claim they are not as patriotic, as heroic, and oftentimes as patient and as long-suffering as the Anglo-Saxon, but it is a matter of regret, that they should lack the latter's solid, stolid, sturdy qualities, love of order, and that innate aptitude for self-government which is a characteristic of English-speaking

¹ 1898.

people. Thus, racial temperament influenced by environment and not favored by circumstances, may have much to do with the proverbial unsteadiness of Spanish-American settlements. But without appealing to mere speculation, the actual causes of this state of affairs are well known; their name is ten legions, and it is the combination of them which militates so fatally against the progress of our Southern neighbors.

Many of the evils which retarded their early development and perpetuated the baneful influence which still exists, can be attributed, in a great measure, to two prime causes. First of all, the ruinous Colonial system instituted and kept up for centuries by the mother country, and secondly the fatal absence of clear-headed statesmanship at periods most important to the colonies' future. Since their independence from Spain the young Republics have produced many notable men, but none supernaturally qualified to perform miracles and conjure fatal tendencies that only time and favoring circumstances can counteract. It is impossible now to fix a date for this consummation, so desirable to all the Spanish-speaking republics of this Continent. Even in Argentina, one of the most progressive of them all, the provinces are still thinly populated, loosely bound together and often badly governed. They are continually exposed to the capricious fretfulness of private ambition; local dissatisfaction, or what not; numberless causes, big or small, which all merge into one great effect—revolution, and lead but to one end—ruin.

This paper does not pretend to unravel such tangled questions as the causes of tardy development in La Plata. A few historical facts, however, must be cited to justify, if possible, the rather grave indictment, that Spain's narrow Colonial System contributed more than anything toward keeping her Rio de la Plata Dependencies almost stationary for two centuries, and by excluding emigration, originated a condition of affairs not liable to perpetuation in more thickly populated countries.

The history of Spanish South America reveals a singular parallelism existing between the discovery, conquest and early

settlement of the regions stretching East and West of the Andes. The very same year, 1515, that an expedition started down the Pacific coast to find the extremity of the American Continent and landed upon the Isle of Pearls, another expedition under Diaz de Solis with a similar object in view, discovered the river Plate. Pizarro had no sooner established himself in Peru, than Cabot upon the banks of the Paraná raised the fort of Sancti Spiritus (1527). The same year (1537) saw the foundation of the cities of Buenos Ayres and Lima; and later (1573), when the conquerors of Peru made an establishment at Cordoba del Tucuman, the pioneers of the future Argentina built the first houses of the city of Santa Fé. Not long after this, the two human currents turned in their course; one pressing East and the other West, met unexpectedly at Sancti Spiritus, thus establishing overland connection between the two Oceans.

There the comparison stops; there is nothing in common between the Peruvian and Argentine civilizations, except their common origin. Actuated at first by the same motives, they each found their destinies shaped by the nature of the countries into which circumstances had led them. Peru was for its conquerors a realization of El Dorado. They found a docile race, bending easily under a feudal yoke, and the wildest dreams of wealth and power were more than verified by actual experience. This was not so for the settlers in the East. Nothing justified the name given to the Silver River, unless it were the sheen of the silver moon playing upon its waters.

The sturdy adventurers of old Spain, who sailed up the many tributaries of Argentine's great estuary, eager to repeat the exploits of Cortez in Anahuac and reap such golden harvests as Pizarro's followers in Peru, were doomed to bitter disappointment. They had from the first to dispute the soil with numerous savage tribes, and depend for subsistence upon what they owed to the sweat of their own brows. It was thus a struggle against man and nature, hunger and poverty, and

what was worse, a battle for existence against¹ the mother country who did her worst to smother in its cradle a colony which only saved itself from an early death, thanks to its own vitality.

Old Spain, indeed, showed the proverbial "Raben-mutter" love for its young offspring. The short-sighted system of monopolies adopted by that country with regard to America in general, fell with crushing weight upon the river Plate. The statesmanlike(?) provisions of such an enactment, aimed not only against the establishment in America of industries that might compete with Spain, but it centralized monopoly at the single port of Seville. This place alone had the privilege of the colonial export and import trade.

Evidently fearing this policy might not sufficiently tighten the lines around the colonies, Spain further restricted them from having commercial relations among themselves. But even this was not satisfactory to the sapient Tariff jobbers at home. They evolved the scheme of concentrating at Porto Rico and Panama the entire traffic of Spain with its colonies. At these two ports were held bi-annual fairs, where for forty days the unfortunate American Dependencies of the Pacific coast did all their buying and selling, while the still more wretched Provinces of the Rio de la Plata had to transact their business at Potosí, where they furnished themselves with the necessities of life at a premium of from 500 to 600 per cent. upon the original price.²

When the forty days grace was over, Spain clamped its valves together like a monstrous oyster, which no human power could open. This insane policy lasted till 1737 and had as a natural corollary the promotion of a brisk smuggling trade, with the result of scattering the New World's gold and silver into the lap of all the other maritime nations of Europe. In spite of this partial alleviation, the Rio de la Plata continued to suffer most from the policy of monopoly, because it

¹ Mitre, *Vida del General Belgrano*.

² Mitre.

had to provide itself with what it needed at the most expensive market in South America, and was, moreover, burdened with monetary restrictions, that were it not for indisputable documentary evidence of existence, would seem too ridiculous for belief.¹

It was only in 1777, through the bold action of the viceroy, Zeballos, and the independent movement of the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, that an act was passed removing the intolerable restrictions upon the commerce of the Rio de la Plata. One of the most important results of the establishment of "free trade" was the generous influx of emigration. The population of Buenos Ayres (then including the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, Corrientes and Santa Fé) swelled in twenty-two years from 37,000 souls to 170,000.²

But as far as the mother country was concerned, the evil was done. It had accomplished all that misguided policy can do to alienate the affections of the children beyond the seas, and through the levelling influences of universal poverty had implanted in their hearts a feeling of equality and democracy, which, in a very few years more, was to make it easier for them to stand together in the common cause of independence.

General Mitre, in his great history of the Argentine hero, Belgrano, claims that the first settlers who came to the Rio de la Plata were superior to the ordinary Spanish adventurers, in that they partook more of the character of emigrants and came mostly from the vanguard regions of Spain; that is, the Basque Provinces and Andalusia. They had, therefore, in their "ethnological temperament the qualities of two superior races," differing in every respect except in excellence of qualifications peculiarly their own. It is more than probable, however, that under the smothering, rather than the fostering care of Spain, the colony would have dragged out a consumptive

¹*Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias*, Lib. VIII, Tit. XIV.

² Mitre.

existence for some years and then died for lack of vivifying element, had it not been for a regenerating force found upon the conquered soil itself.

The nomadic tribes scattered over the vast regions of La Plata did not offer such fierce opposition to the intruders as the Araucanians in Chili. They quickly assimilated with the Spaniards, and from the union sprang a race which forms at present the bulk of, at least, the rural population. It is not without justice, General Mitre complacently remarks, that the conquest of the Rio de la Plata does not offer the spectacle of those human hecatombs which have stained with blood the rest of America. From where the head waters of the Pilcomayo lie still hidden amidst the virgin forests of Bolivia to the disputed Patagonian line; from the Atlantic to the foot of the Andes, every indigenous tribe that once wandered over that vast extent, has contributed to the origin of the pastoral population of Argentina, and has impressed upon feature, speech and character, the peculiar stamp of its individual personality.

As those broad limits enclosed tribes that represented nearly every type found in savage life, their descendants present divergences from one another, more or less accentuated in proportion to geographical location. Thus, with a homogeneity due to the very character of the life they lead, the Gaucho population, thinly sprinkled over thousands and thousands of square miles, differ essentially in physical, mental and moral attributes. And this is not due so much to fortuitous circumstances having approached some more than others to civilized centres or to the degree of admixture with the aborigines; their individuality can be traced more directly to the ethnological temperament of the tribe from which they have sprung. Apart from minor considerations their mental and physical training is the same. Nature has spoken many a word for them; man has seldom opened his mouth for their betterment. Fate has placed the home of these people upon extensive flat

or rolling surfaces seamed by numberless rivers with banks lined by woody growths unknown to other regions; they are thus from their birth brought face to face with a luxurious nature, that revels in its liberty and impresses upon the simple minds of the inhabitants one single idea; that of personal irresponsibility.

From that great confused chorus of nature, nothing speaks to them of restraint, law and order, nor do they ever hear the blessed advantages of this trinity extolled by the voice of man, much less by that of "li vilains corsus et ossus," who by virtue of might or will power, lifts himself into leadership whenever occasion offers. Thus, all the influences that tend to divorce one's spirit from law and order, are instilled drop by drop into the nature of the "Criollos." Their individual independence in itself has isolated them so as to hinder them from concerted effort for self-preservation; they thus fall an easy prey to the revolutionary schemer who wishes to employ their brute force to further his purposes.

Measured by the yard-stick of civilization, the mixed race that developed under a regime of almost unbridled savagery, must necessarily fall short of prescribed dimensions. As to what they might become under beneficent influences, it is hard to say, because the experiment of bringing their free limbs within the tight garments of civilization has never been attempted systematically. This much may be said nevertheless; wherever they have come in contact with superior influences, they have shown a marked improvement. As they are now, or at least were a few years ago, the descendants of the early settlers and their Indian wives, the Gauchos of the Plains have little reason to be thankful to the ruling spirits in their country. Their's is a sad destiny; it's as if they atoned in themselves for the sins of the whole nation. No one has shown more poignantly how circumstances, neglect and nefarious influences have worked upon these fine types of manhood, than the poet Hernandez, who, in the picturesque

language of the Gauchos, speaks as they themselves often speak where few hear them :¹

Vive el aguilá en su nido,
 El tigre vive en la selva,
 El zorro en la cueva agena,
 Y en su destino incostante
 Solo el Gaucho vive errante
 Donde la suerte lo lleva.
 Es el pobre en su horfandá
 De la fortuna el desecho—
 Porque naide torna á pechos
 El defender á su raza—
 Debe el Gaucho tener casa,
 Escuela, Iglesia y derchos.
 Y han de concluir algun día
 Estos enriedos malditos—
 La obra no lo facilita,
 Porque aumentan el fandango
 Los que estan como el chimango
 Sobre el cuero dando gritos.
 Mas Dios ha de permitir
 Que este llegue á mejorar—
 Pero se ha de recordar
 Para hacer bien el trabajo,
 Que el fuego pa calentar,
 Debe ir siempre por abajo.
 En su ley esta el de arriba,
 Si hace lo que le aproveche
 De sus favores sospeche,
 Hasta el mesmo que lo nombra—
 Siempre es dañosa la sombra
 Del arbol que tiene leche.
 Al pobre al menos descuido
 Lo levantan de un sogazo—
 Pero vo comprendiendo el caso
 Y esta consecuencia saco—
 El Gaucho es el cuero flaco
 De los tientos para el lazo.

No social distinctions of caste ruffle the smooth surface of personal intercourse among these children of the plains. A

¹*La Vuelta de Martin Fierro.*

democratic "camaraderie" exists between the Gaucho lord with broad acres and the unfortunate "rotoso" with nothing to his name but a rag of old Spanish dignity and self-esteem which comes to him by right of birth. No class differences chill the warm current of sympathy that passes perennially over the Pampas. Perfect freedom of intercourse is only tempered by an innate courtesy and native grace peculiar to the South Americans, so that often the "barbarian" in that wild society is the foreigner from across the seas, who could learn more than one thing that adorns life from the humblest of Gauchos in his tattered poncho and smoky rancho.

Contrary to popular belief, the Gauchos are no fonder of revolutions than the foreign settlers. It requires no profound sophistry to prove to them that in revolt, they have nothing to gain and everything to lose, their own skins included. They are swept into action, not by any dominant idea, but by some scheming chieflet, and in the absence of concerted opposition, they can offer no other protest but flight, which in itself means personal ruin.

"hay que callar o es claro que lo quebran por eleye—parese que el Gaucho tiene algun pecado que purgar."¹

These so-called popular outbursts, moreover, are of such frequent recurrence, that one is apt to consider them very much like the inevitable spells of sickness that come in regular rotation, during childhood. Very unfortunately the good qualities of the Gauchos make of them ideal material for revolutions. Ready at a moment's notice; moving with tremendous celerity, either in attack or retreat; with no commissariat perplexities to vex them, and living "á la gracia de Dios," that is, plundering enemies and friends with indiscriminating impartiality; indefatigable, impetuous, daring everything when well led, halting at nothing and never perplexed unless some misfortune sets them on foot. Even thus, converted into despised bipeds, they have been known to attack, knife in hand, more than one intrenchment, manned

¹ Hernandez, *Martin Fierro*.

by Brazilians. Their own kindred, the Paraguayans, indeed, once captured and held for a time several Brazilian iron-clads, thus emulating that body of French Cavalry, which, in the old Republican fighting days, bagged a Dutch squadron.

The Gaucho is a Homeric feeder when he sits down to demolish a churasco (roast), but he will work, fight or run all day, as the case may be, with no stronger stimulant under his belt than a "mate amargo" (tea). Cold and rain do not seem to affect either his spirits or his body. The present writer has seen, on more than one chilly night, some poor fellow crouched face downward, his knees drawn up to his chin, sound asleep, with no heavier covering than a thin sheet of frost the merciless night had spread over him.

In time of peace, although his sturdy legs carry him right briskly around in the varied work of the cattle corral or sheep-pen, the Gaucho's true place is upon a horse. The Centaur is then realized. As to whether he is a better horseman than our own cow-boy, I cannot venture to say, but he has to deal with a larger and better looking specimen of the equine race, than those bits of india-rubber, called Texas ponies, and he is decidedly more picturesque than his North American brother. Whether engaged in breaking a "potro," lassoing, cutting out cattle, whirling and twisting in all the evolutions of a parting, or in holiday attire, with silver trappings and gaudy poncho, the child of the Pampas is a sight to see, which is worth more than a Sabbath day's journey. One must have observed him in all these aspects, or turn to his own poetry to know what thoughts fill his heart and mind, as he bounds over the tawny prairies, the golden sunlight glinting from his gear, his horse's feet skimming over the wild heliotrope, the scarlet verbena and dark mio-mio, with the grasshoppers skipping merrily right and left, and the swallows dipping around him.

Next to such amusements as horse-taming, lassoing and gambling, the Gaucho loves nothing better than to give himself up to the simple means of mental distraction within his reach.

When seated near the camp-fire, with the glow of the "fogon" lighting up his swarthy face and the splutter of his individual "asao" singing a tune to his appetite, he invariably indulges with his companions in interminable reminiscences, seasoned with a profusion of "sez I's" and "sez he's." On such occasions he outbrags the heroes of Troy and "outgabs" the Paladins of Charlemagne.

But it is at horse-races, tournaments and pericon dances where the Chinitas assemble to give themselves up to social delights, that another page is added to the history of Argentine rural life. At such gatherings one hears the wild melodies and fluent improvisations that are peculiar to that region and life.

Like the troubadours of old the "native" poet, whether owner of unnumbered herds or the most "rotoso de los rotos" (the raggedest of the ragged), by virtue alone of super-excellent talent, finds himself thrust to the front, head and shoulders above his fellows. And doubtless, in direct line of descent from those Charmers of the Middle Ages, there has ever been in all Gaucho communities, some favored singer and "guitarero," musician and poet in one, who has produced in his songs and verses "treasures of original inspiration and faithful pictures of the nomadic life of those plains."

His compositions sometimes have a wide range, varying from the simple "décima de amor" to the "dansa" (pericon) song-dance and the more complicated "canto por cifra de contrapunto," which reminds one of the old "tensos" and "jeu-parti."

A favorite composition is a laudatory exposition in verse of the manifold virtues of some distinguished guest. In the course of this, the latter is liable to find himself compared to a whole flower-garden, a starry sky; to almost everything in fact, in earth below and the waters under the earth. There is nothing sordid in the mind of the singer; at most, he may expect a simple word of thanks, or perhaps a cigar as token of good-fellowship.

With regard to the vocal part, it cannot be said that the Gauche payador "sings as the birds sing." The singing is

spontaneous enough, but here the bird analogy stops. On hearing that high falsetto, with a long sighing whine at the end of each verse, one is inclined to say with Mickey Free:

“Arrah! Misther Pedhro, av that’s yez singin’ phwhat may yez croin’ be loike?”

But if one’s ear is wounded by the sound and one is apt to subscribe to what he says himself:—

Canta el pueblero y es pueta;
Canta el Gaucho, y, ay Jesus!
Lo miran como avestruz—

Still more is one’s feeling heart touched by what follows:—

Su inorancia los asombra
Mas sieppre sirven las sombras
Para distinguir la luz.

It may be contended that the best known bards of the Pampas are not Gauchos, but men who in birth, breeding and education, rank on a par with the best of any land. Very true, but they are nearer in every respect to the Gauchos than Joel Chandler Harris or Thomas Nelson Page to the “coloured gemmen” they portray so inimitably. The Argentine poets, moreover, have an added advantage over these dialect writers. They have not only been born and bred among the people whose joys and sorrows they relate, but they have lived the Gaucho life, have studied their models in war times and peace, have been their leaders in the one, their employers, companions, friends in the other. Their types, consequently, are not ideals, but living, breathing realities, standing out against a background as vividly pictured and as true to nature. Thanks to Hidalgo, Ascasubi, Hernandez and del Campo, the romantic land of the Silver River stands revealed in all its wild beauty and the poor Gaucho’s woes and joys, trials and temptations shall be known to the world long after the Pampa grass waves over the unknown grave of the last of the race.

Although the works of Hernandez and Ascasubi are better adapted to the purposes of linguistic investigation, because of their broader range and their dealing more intimately with Gaucho life, it was thought, that for an initial text, the Fausto would be of more general interest.¹

This Fausto, as the title shows, is not adapted from the great German poem, nor is it expounded after the style of that master critic, Prof. Kuno Fischer. It is simply a humble Argentine Gaucho's impressions of Gounod's opera. It is gratifying to notice, however, that Marguerite makes the same impression upon him as upon all, whether kings or peasants, "who have their hearts upon the left side." She is as pure when the curtain falls as when Faust first meets her. Anastasio el Pollo, who tells the story to a friend, is a Gaucho of superior type; he lived in Bragado, a department of the province of Buenos Ayres and consequently was brought frequently in contact with refining influences.

FAUSTO

FOR

ESTANISLAO DEL CAMPO.

I.

En un overo rosao,²
 Flete nuevo y parejito,
 Caia³ al bajo, al trotecito,
 Y lindamente sentao,

¹ Sometime during the present year I expect to publish in Germany an attempt at a Comparative Study of the Gaucho dialect.

² Literally "a rose coloured piebald;" one of the numerous "horse colours" to be found among the wild horses of the Pampas.

³ to come down.

Un paisano¹ del Bragao²
 De apelativo *Laguna*,
 Mozo ginetaso ¡ahijuna!
 Como creo que no hay otro,
 Capaz de llevar un potro³
 A sofrenarlo⁴ en la luna.

¡ Ah criollo!⁵ si parecia
 Pegao en el animal,
 Que aunque era medio bagual,⁶
 A la rienda obedecia,
 De suerte, que se creeria
 Ser no solo arrociniao,⁷
 Sino tambien del recaio⁸
 De alguna moza pueblera :
 ¡ Ah Cristo! ¡ quien lo tuviera! . . .
 ¡ Lindo el overo rosao!

Como que era escarciador,
 Vivaracho y coscojero,⁹
 Le iba sonando al overo
 La plata que era un primor ;
 Pues eran plata el *fiador*,¹⁰
Pretal,¹¹ espuelas,¹² virolas,
 Y en las cabezadas¹³ solas
 Trafa el hombre un potosí :¹⁴
 ¡ Qué! . . . Si traia, para mí,
 Hasta de plata las bolas!¹⁵

¹ gaucho = native.² County in the Province of Buenos Ayres.³ wild-horse.⁴ pull him up.⁵ native.⁶ wild-horse.⁷ gentle.⁸ gaucho-saddle.⁹ "bit-champer."¹⁰ part of native bit.¹¹ breast-plate.¹² rings.¹³ head-stall.¹⁴ mine of wealth.

¹⁵ Boleadoras; three wooden or stone balls covered with raw-hide and connected by twisted thongs 1½ yards long. Used for catching wild horses; thrown from a distance, they twist around the animal's hind legs and hobble them.

En fin : — como iba á contar,
Laguna al rio llegó,
Contra una toska¹ se apió
Y empezó á desensillar.
En esto, dentró á orejiar²
Y á resollar el overo,
Y jué que vido un sombrero
Que del viento se volaba
De entre una ropa, que estaba
Mas allá, contra un *apero*.³

Dió güelta y dijo el paisano
— ¡ *Vaya ZÁFIRO!* ¿ *qué es eso?* ^f
Y le acarició el pescueso
Con la palma de la mano.
Un relincho soberano
Pegó el overo que via
A un paisano que salia
De la agua, en un colorao,⁴
Que al mesmo overo rosao
Nada le desmerecia.

Cuando el flete relinchó,
Media güelta dió Laguna,
Y ya pegó el grito : — ¡ Ahijuna!
¿ No es el pollo ?

— Pollo, nó,
Ese tiempo se pasó,
(Contestó el otro paisano),
Ya soy jaca⁵ vieja, hermano,
Con las *puas*⁶ como anzuelo,
Y á quien ya le niega el suelo
Hasta el mas remoto grano.

¹ boulder.

⁴ light-bay horse.

² prick up his ears.

³ cock.

⁵ horse-gear.

⁶ spurs.

Se apió el Pollo y se pegaron¹
 Tal abrazo con Laguna,
 Que sus dos almas en una
 Acaso se misturaron.
 Cuando se desenredaron,
 Despues de haber lagrimiao,
 El overito rosao
 Una oreja se rascaba,
 Visto que la refregaba
 En la *clín* del colorao.

— *Velay*,² tienda el cojinillo³
 Don Laguna, sientesé,
 Y un ratito aguardemé
 Mientras maneo⁴ el potrillo :
 Vaya armando un cigarrillo,
 Si es que el vicio no ha olvidao :
 Ahí tiene contra el recaó
 Cuchillo, papel y un naco.⁵
 Yo siempre pico el tabaco
 Por no pitarlo aventao.⁶

— Vaya amigo, le haré gasto
 — ¿ No quiere maniar su overo ?
 — Dejelo á mi parejero⁷
 Que es como mata de pasto.
 Ya una vez, cuando el abasto,⁸
 Mi cuñao se desmayó :
 A los tres dias volvió
 Del insulto,⁹ y crea amigo,
 Peligra lo que le digo :
 El flete ni se movió.

¹ to give.² exclamation = *ve lo alli*, contracted.³ cloth, sheep or goat-skin, forming part of *recado*.⁴ hobble.⁵ "plug" of tobacco.⁶ dry.⁷ race-horse.⁸ commissary.⁹ illness (attack).

— ¡ Bien aiga gauchó embustero !
 ¿ Sabe que no me esperaba
 Que soltase una *guayabá*¹
 De ese tamaño, *aparceró*?²
 Ya colijo que su overo
 Está tan bien enseñao,
 Que si en vez de desmayao
 El otro hubiera estao muerto,
 Al fin del mundo, por cierto,
 Me lo encuentra allí parao.

— Vean como le buscó
 La güelta³. . . ¡ bien aiga el Pollo !⁴
 Siempre larga todo el rollo⁵
 De su lazo. . . .

— ¿ Y cómo no ?
 ¿ O se ha figurao que yo
 Asina no mas las trago ?
 ¡ Hágase cargo ! . . .
 — Ya me hago. . . .
 — Prieste el juego. . . .
 — Tomeló.
 — Y aura, le preguntó yo,
 ¿ Qué anda haciendo en este pago ?

— Hace como una semana
 Que he bajao á la ciudá,
 Pues tengo necesidá
 De ver si cobro una lana,
 Pero me andan con *mañana*,
 O *no hay plata y venga luego*.
 Hoy no mas cuasi le pego
 En las aspas con la argolla⁶

¹ slang, "whopper."

² find the weak spot.

³ coil of the lasso.

⁴ partner in love-affair = "pard."

⁵ "devil take the chicken."

⁶ lasso-ring.

Aun gringo que aunque es de embrolla
Ya le he maliciao el juego.

— Con el cuento de la guerra
Andan matreros¹ los cobres.

— Vamos á morir de pobres
Los paisanos de esta tierra.
Yo cuasi he ganao la sierra
De puro desesperao. . . .

— Yo me encuentro tan cortao,²
Que á veces se me hace cierto,
Que hasta ando jediendo á muerto. . . .

— Pues yo me hallo hasta *empeñao*.³

— ¡Vaya un lamentarse! ¡ahijuna! . . .⁴

Y eso es de vicio, aparcero;
A usted lo ha hecho su ternero
La vaca de la fortuna.
Y no llore, don Laguna,
No me lo castigue Dios:
Sino comparemoslós
Mis tientos⁵ con su chapiao,⁶
Y así en limpio habrá quedao,
El mas pobre de los dos.

— ¡Vean si es escarbador⁷
Este Pollo! ¡Vírgen mia!
Si es pura chafalonia. . . .⁸
— Eso sí, siempre *pintor*!⁹
— Se la gané á un jugador
Que vino á echarla de *güeno*.¹⁰

¹ shy.

² so pinched for money.

³ "at my uncle's."

⁴ Exclamation.—Contraction of: Ah! hijo de una gran p—! expresses surprise, admiration, anger, etc., according to the intonation.

⁵ raw-hide straps on cantle of the saddle.

⁶ silver-mounted horse-gear.

⁷ "a scratcher."

⁸ plated-ware.

⁹ in this sense, "humbug."

¹⁰ "cock-sure."

Primero le gané el freno
Con riendas y cabezadas,
Y en otras cuantas jugadas
Perdió el hombre hasta lo ageno.

¿Y sabe lo que decia
Cuando se via en la mala?
*El que me ha pelao la chala*¹
Debe tener brujería.
A la cuenta se creeria
Que el diablo y yo. . . .

— Callesé

Amigo ! ¿ no sabe usted
Que la otra noche lo he visto
Al demonio ?

— ¡ Jesucristo ! . . .

— Hace bien, santigüesé.

— Pues no me he de santiguar !
Con esas cosas no juego ;
Pero no importa, le ruego
Que me dentre á relatar
El cómo llegó á topar
Con el *malo*,² ¡ Virgen Santa !
Solo el pensarlo me espanta. . . .
— Güeno, le voy á contar
Pero antes voy á buscar
Con que mojar la garganta.

El Pollo se levantó
Y se jué en su colorao,
Y en el overo rosao
Laguna á la agua dentró.
Todo el baño que le dió
Jué dentrada por salida,

¹ "husked my corn" = stripped me.

² devil.

Y á la tosca consabida
Don Laguna se volvió,
Ande á Don Pollo lo halló
Con un frasco de bebida.

— Lárguese al suelo cuñao
Y vaya haciéndose cargo,
Que puede ser mas que largo
El cuento que le he ofertao :
Desmanée el colorao,
Desate su maniador,¹
Y *en ancas*,² haga el favor
De acollararlos. . . .³

— Al grito :

¿ Es manso el coloradito ?
— ¡ Ese es un trebo de olor !

— Ya están acollaraditos. . . .

— Dele un beso á esa gñiebra :⁴

Yo le hice sonar de una *hebra* ⁵

Lo menos diez golgoritos.⁶

— Pero esos son muy poquitos

Para un criollo como usté,

Capaz de prenderselé

A una pipa de lejía. . . .

— Hubo un tiempo en que solía. . . .

— Vaya amigo, larguesé.

II.

— Como á eso de la oracion,
Aura cuatro ó cinco noches

¹ lariat, used for "staking out a horse" = tethering him.

² "on the crupper of that" = after that.

³ fasten two horses together by the neck or halter and let them graze.

⁴ "give a kiss" = a drink.

⁵ "one swig."

⁶ gurgles.

Vide una fila de coches
Contra el tiatro de Colon.¹

La gente en el corredor,
Como hacienda² amontonada.
Pujaba desesperada
Por llegar al mostrador.³

Allí á juerza⁴ de sudar,
Y á punta de hombro y de codo,
Hice, amigaso, de modo
Que al fin me pude arrimar.

Cuando compré mi dentrada⁵
Y di güelta. . . ¡ Cristo mio !
Estaba pior el gentío⁶
Que una mar alborotada.

Era á casa de una vieja
Que le habia do⁷ el mal. . .⁸
— Y si es chico ese corral
¿ A qué encierran tanta oveja ?

— Ahí verá : — por fin, cuñao,
A juerza de arrempujon,⁹
Salí como *mancarron*¹⁰
Que lo sueltan trasijao.¹¹

Mi botas nuevas quedaron
Lo propio que picadillo,¹²
Y el fleco¹³ del calsoncillo
Hilo á hilo me sacaron.

¹ old opera-house in Buenos Ayres.

² horned-cattle.

³ counter in a shop.

⁴ fuerza.

⁵ ticket.

⁶ crowd.

⁷ dado.

⁸ have a fit.

⁹ pushing.

¹⁰ "old plug."

¹¹ tottering = done-up.

¹² chopped tobacco.

¹³ Fringe of the embroidered drawers worn by the gauchos under the *chiripá*, the cloth which with them takes the place of trousers.

Y para colmo, cuñao,
De toda esta desventura,
El puñal, de la cintura,
Me lo habian refalao.¹

— Algun gringo como luz
Para la uña, ha de haber sido—
— ¡Y no haberlo yo sentido !
En fin, ya le *hice la cruz*.

Medio cansao y triston
Por la pérdida, dentré ²
Y una escalera trepé
Con ciento y un escalon.

Llegué á un alto, finalmente,
Ande vá la *paisanada*.³
Que era la última camada
En la estiva de la gente.

Ni bien me habia sentao
Rompió ⁴ de golpe la banda,
Que detrás de una baranda
La habian acomodao.

Y ya tambien se corrió
Un lienzo grande, de modo,
Que á dentrar con flete y todo
Me avento, creameló.

Atrás de aquel cortinao,
Un Doctor apareció.
Que asigun oi decir yó,
Era un tal *Fausto*, mentao.

¹ slipped.² entré.³ gauchos.⁴ "bust out."

— ¿Doctor dice? Coronel
De la otra banda,¹ amigaso,²
Lo conozco á ese criollaso³
Porque he servido con él.

— Yo tambien lo conocí
Pero el pobre ya murió :
¡ Bastantes veces montó
Un saino⁴ que yo le dí !

Dejeló al que está en cielo,
Que es otro *Fausto* el que digo,
Pues bien puede haber, amigo,
Dos burros del mismo pelo.⁵

— No he visto gaucha mas *quiebra*⁶
Para retrucar ¡ ahijuna !
— Dejemé hacer, don Laguna,
Dos gárgaras⁷ de Ginebra.

Pues como le hiba diciendo
El Doctor apareció,
Y, en público, se quejó
De que andaba padeciendo.

Dijo que nada podia
Con la ciencia⁸ que estudió :
Que él á una rubia queria,
Pero que á él la rubia nó.

Que al fiudo⁹ la pastoriaba⁹
Dende el nacer de la aurora,

¹ "of the other side" = Banda Oriental.

² augmentatives.

³ dark-bay horse.

⁴ in sense of colour.

⁵ in sense of "smart,"—quick.

⁶ "gargles" = gulps.

⁷ ciencia.

⁸ uselessly.

⁹ tend cattle while grazing—that is, when they are formed into "troops" for slaughter at the saladeros.

Pues de noche y á toda hora,
Siempre tras de ella lloraba.

Que de mañana á ordeñar
Salía muy *currutaca*,¹
Que él le maniaba² la vaca,
Pero pare de contar.³

Que cansado de sufrir,
Y cansado de llorar,
Al fin se iba á envenenar
Porque eso no era vivir.

El hombre allí⁴ renegó,
Tiró contra el suelo el gorro,
Y por fin, en su socorro,
Al mismo Diablo llamó.

¡Nunca lo hubiera llamao !
¡Viera *sustaso* por Cristo !
¡Ahí mesmo, jediendo á misto⁵
Se apareció *el condenao* !⁶

Hace bien : persinesé
Que lo *mesmito* hice yó,
—¿Y cómo no disparó ?
—Yo mesmo no sé porqué.

¡Viera al Diablo ! Uñas de gato,
Flacon, un sable largote,⁷
Gorro con pluma, capote,
Y una barba de chivato.⁸

Medias hasta la veríja,⁹
Con cada ojo como un charco,

¹ sweet, pretty.² hobble.³ in sense of, "But, pshaw !"⁴ in sense of "swearing."⁵ any kind of inflammable mixture.⁶ devil.⁷ big.⁸ goat.⁹ withers.

Y cada ceja era un arco
Para correr la sortija.

“Aquí estoy á su mandao
Cuenta con un servidor.”
Le dijo el Diablo al Doctor,
Que estaba medio asonsao.¹

“Mi Doctor no se me asuste,
Que yo lo vengo á servir :
Pida lo que ha de pedir
Y ordene lo que guste.”

El Doctor medio asustao
Le contestó que se juese . . .²
— Hizo bien no le parece ?
— Dejuramente,³ cuffao.

Pero el Diablo comenzó.
A alegar gastos de viaje,
Y á medio darle coraje
Hasta que lo *engatuzó*.

— ¿ No era un Doctor muy projundo ?
¿ Cómo se dejó engañar ?
— *Mandinga* ⁴ es capaz de dar
Diez güeltas á medio mundo.

El Diablo volvió á decir :—
“Mi Doctor no se me asuste,
Ordenemé en lo que guste
Pida lo que ha de pedir.”

“Si quiere plata tendrá ;
Mi bolsa siempre esta llena,

¹ foolish.

² se fuese.

³ seguramente.

⁴ devil.

Y mas rico que Anchorena¹
Con decir *quiero*, será."

No es por la plata que lloro,
Don Fausto le contestó :
Otra cosa quiero yó
Mil veces mejor que el oro.

"Yo todo le puedo dar,
Retrucó el Rey del Infierno,
Diga : — ¿ *Quiere ser Gobierno?* ²
Pues no tiene mas que hablar."

— No quiero plata ni mando,
Dijo don Fausto, yo quiero
El corazon todo entero
De quien me tiene penando.

No bien esto el Diablo oyó,
Soltó una risa tan fiera,³
Que toda la noche entera
En mis orejas sonó.

Dió en el suelo una patada,
Una paré se partió
Y el Dotor, fulo, miró
A su prenda idolatrada.

— ¡ Canejo !⁴ . . . ¿ Será verdá ?
¿ Sabe que se me hace cuento ?
— No crea que yo le miento :
Lo ha visto media ciudá.

¹ the Jay Gould of Buenos Ayres.

² common term for governing power of any kind in the state.

³ ugly.

⁴ one of the many substitutes for an oath.

¡Ah Don Laguna ! ¡ si viera
Que rubia ! Creameló :
Cref que estaba viendo yó
Alguna virgen de cera.

Vestido azul, medio alzado,
Se apareció la muchacha :
Pelo de oro, como hilacha
De *chocolo*¹ recién cortao.

Blanca como una cuajada,
Y celeste la pollera.
Don Laguna, si aquello era
Mirar á la *Inmaculada*.²

Era cada ojo un lucero,
Sus dientes, perlas del mar,
Y un clavel al reventar
Era su boca aparcero.

Ya enderezó como loco
El Doctor cuanto la vió,
Pero el Diablo lo atajó
Diciendolé : — “ Poco á poco :

Si quiere, hagamos un *pato* :³
Uste su alma me ha de dar
Y en todo lo he de ayudar :
¿ Le parece bien el trato ? ”

Como el Dotor consintió,
El Diablo sacó un papel
Y lo hizo firmar en él
Cuanto la gana le dió.

¹ new-corn.

² the Virgin.

³ compact (duck).

— ¡Dotor, y hacer ese trato!¹
 — ¿Qué quiere hacerle, cuñao,
 Si se topó ese abogao
 Con la orma de su zapato?

Ha de saber que el Dotor
 Era dentrao en edá,
 Asina² es que estaba yá
 Bichoco³ para el amor

Por eso al dir⁴ á entregar
 La contrata consabida
 Dijo: — ¿Habrá alguna bebida
 Que me pueda remozar?

Yo no se que brujeria
 Misto, mágica ó polvito
 Le echó el Diablo y . . . ¡Dios bendito!
 ¡Quien demonio lo creeria!

¿Nunca ha visto usted á un gusano
 Volverse una mariposa?
 Pues allí la mesma cosa
 Le pasó al Dotor paisano.

Canas, gorro y casacon⁵
 De pronto se vaporaron,⁶
 Y en el Dotor ver dejaron
 A un donoso moceton,

— ? Que dice? . . . ¡barbaridá! . . .
 ¡Cristo padre! . . . ¿Sera cierto?
 — Mire: — Que me *caigamuerto*
 Si no es la pura verdá.

¹ lawyers bear the title of doctor.

² así.

³ horse's hoof grown too long = "a stumbler."

⁴ al ir.

⁵ long coat.

⁶ went off in smoke.

El Diablo entonces mandó
A la rubia que se juese,¹
Y que la paré se uniese,
Y la cortina cayó.

A juersa de tanto hablar
Se me ha seco el garguero:²
Pase el frasco compafiero. . . .
—¡ Pues no lo he de pasar!³

III.

—Vea los pingos . . .⁴
—¡ Ah hijitos!
Son dos fletes soberanos.
—¡ Como fueran hermanos
Bebiendo la agua juntitos!

—¿ Sabe que es linda la mar!
—¡ La viera de mañanita
Cuando agatas⁵ la puntita
Del sol comienza á asomar!

Usté vé venir á esta hora
Roncando la marejada,
Y ve en la espuma encrespada.
Las colores de la aurora.

A veces, con viento en la anca
Y con la vela al solcito,
Se ve cruzar un barquito
Como una paloma blanca.

¹ se fuese.

² literally, "the gargler = throat."

³ "I should say so."

⁴ fine horse.

⁵ scarcely.

Otras, usté ve, patentes,
Venir boyando un islote,
Y es que trai á un *camalote*¹
Cabrestiendo² la corriente.

Y con un campo quebrao
Bien se puede comparar,
Cuando el lomo empieza á hinchar,
El rio medio alterao.

Las holas chicas, cansadas,
A la playa agatas vienen,
Y allí en lamber se entretienen
Las arenitas labradas.

Es lindo ver en los ratos
En que la mar á bajao,
Caer volando al displayao
Gaviotas, garsas y patos.

Y en las toscas, es divino,
Mirar las olas quebrarse,
Como al fin viene á estrellarse
El hombre con su destino.

Y no sé que dá el mirar
Cuando barrosa y bramando,
Sierras de agua viento alzando
Embravecida³ la mar.

Parece que el Dios del cielo
Se amostrase retobao,⁴
Al mirar tanto pecao
Como se vé en este suelo.

¹ floating island.² lead by the halter.³ angered.⁴ angered.

Y es cosa de vendecir
 Cuando el Señor la serena,
 Sobre ancha cama de arena,
 Obligándola á dormir.

Y es muy lindo ver nadando
 A flor de agua algun péscas :
 Van, como plata, cuñao,
 Las escamas relumbrando.

— ¡Ah Pollo ! Ya comenzó
 A meniar taba ¹ : ¿ y el caso ?
 — Dice muy bien amigaso :
 Seguiré contándolô.

El lienzo otravez alzaron
 Y apareció un bodegon,²
 Ande se armó una reunion ³
 En que algunos se mamaron.⁴

Un Don Valentin, velay,
 Se hallaba allí en la ocacion
 Capitan, muy guapeton,⁵
 Que iba á dir al Paraguay.⁶

Era hermano, el ya nombrado,
 De la rubia, y conversaba
 Con otro mozo que andaba
 Viendo de hacerlo cuñao.⁷

¹ perorate, literally, "play with the knuckle-bone" = a popular gambling pastime.

² tavern.

³ "a crowd gathered."

⁴ to get drunk.

⁵ augmentative of "guapo" = brave.

⁶ allusion to the Paraguayan war, then (1866) in progress.

⁷ "trying to become his brother-in-law."

Don *Silverio*, ó cosa así,
Se llamaba este individuo,
Que me pareció medio *ido*¹
O sonso cuanto lo vi.

Don Valentin le pedia
Que á la rubia la sirviera
En su ausencia. . . .

— ¡ Pues sonsera !

¡ El otro que mas queria !

— El capitan, con su vaso,
A los presentes brindó
Y en esto apareció,
De nuevo el Diablo, amigaso.

Dijo que si lo *almitian*
Tambien echaria un trago,
Que era por no ser del pago
Que allí no lo conocian.

Dentrando² en conversacion
Dijo el Diablo que era brujo :
Pidió un ajenco³ y lo trujo
El mozo del bodegon.

“ No tomo bebida sola,”
Dijo el Diablo : se subió
A un banco, y ví que le echó
Agua de una cuarterola.

Como un tiro de jusil⁴
Entre la copa sonó
Y á echar llamas comenzó
Como si juera un candil.⁵

¹ “ half a fool or drunk.”

² entrando.

³ absinthe.

⁴ fusil.

⁵ a light, made with grease and a big wick.

Todo el mundo reculó ;
 Pero el Diablo sin turbarse
 Les dijo : — “ no hay que asustarse,”
 Y la copa se empinó.¹

— ¡ Que buche !² ¡ Dios soberano !
 — Por no parecer morao³
 El Capitan, jue, cufiao,
 Y le dió al Diablo la mano.

Satanas le registró
 Los dedos con grande afan,
 Y le dijo : — “ Capitan
 Pronto muere, crealó.”

El Capitan, retobao
 Peló⁴ la lata y Luzbel
 No quiso ser menos que él
 Y peló un amojosao.⁵

Antes de cruzar su acero,
 El Diablo el suelo rayó :
 ¡ Viera el fuego que salió !
 — ¡ Que sable para yesquero !⁶

— ¡ Qué dice ? ! Habia de oler
 El jedor que iba largando
 Mientras estaba chispeando
 El sable de Lucifer.

No bien á tocarse van
 Las hojas, creameló,
 La mitá al suelo cayó
 Del sable del Capitan.

¹ pour down.
² guzale.
³ “put out.”

⁴ draw his sword.
⁵ a rusty blade.
⁶ flint and steel.

“¡ Este es el Diablo en figura
De hombre! el Capitan gritó,”
Y al grito le presentó
La cruz de la empuñadura.¹

¡Viera al Diablo retorcerse
Como culebra, aparcerero!
—¡ *Oiganlé!*². . .

—Mordió el acero
Y comenzó á estremecerse.

Los otros se aprovecharon
Y se apretaron el gorro:³
Sin duda á pedir socorro
O á *dar parte* dispararon.⁴

En esto Don Fausto entró
Y conforme al Diablo vido,
Le dijo: — “¿ Qué ha sucedido?”
Pero él se desentendió.

El Dotor volvió á clamar
Por su rubia, y Lucifer,
Valido de su poder,
Se la volvió á presentar.

Pues que golpiando en el suelo
En un baile apareció,
Y don Fausto le pidió
Que lo acompañase á un *cielo*.⁵

No hubo forma que bailara:
La rubia se encaprichó;
De valde el Dotor clamó
Por que no lo desairara:

¹ hilt.

² = whoop!

³ “pull their caps tighter” = take to their heels.

⁴ call the police.

⁵ “a heaven,” a native dance with song.

Cansao ya de *redetirse*¹
 Le contó al Demonio el caso ;
 Pero él le dijo : — “ amigaso
 No tiene porqué afligirse :

Si en el baile no ha alcanzao
 El poderla arrocinar,
 Deje : le hemos de buscar
 La guelta por otro lao.

Y mañana á mas tardar.
 Gozará de sus amores,
 Que á otras mil veces mejores,
 Las he visto cabrestiar.”

¡ Balsa jeneral ! gritó
 El ² bastonero mamao :
 Pero en esto el cortinao
 Por segunda vez cayó.

Armemos ³ un cigarrillo
 Si le parece. . . .

— ¡ Pues no !

— Tome el naco piqueló,
 Usté tiene mi cuchillo.

IV.

Ya se me quiere cansar
 El flete de mi relato . . .
 — Priendalé guasca otro rato : ⁴
 Recien comienza á sudar.

¹ *deretirse* = melt himself.
² leader of the dance.

³ make.
⁴ give it another cut with the whip.

— No se apure : aguardesé :
¿ Cómo anda el frasco ?

— Tuavia
Hay con que hacer medio dia :
Ahi lo tiene, priendalé.¹

— ¿ Sabe que este gñebron
No es para beberlo solo ?
Si advierto traigo un chicholo
O un cacho² de salchichon.

— Vaya, no le ande aflojando
Dele trago y domeló,
Que³ á reiz de las carnes yó
Me lo estoy acomodando.

¿ Qué *tuavia* no ha almorzao ?
— Ando en ayunas Don Pollo
Porque ¿ á qué contar un bollo
Y un cimarron⁴ aguachao ?

Tenia hecha la intencion
De ir á la fonda de un gringo
Despues de bañar el pingo . . .
— Pues vamonos del tiron.⁵

— Aunque ando medio delgao
Don Pollo no le permito
Que me merme⁶ ni un chiquito
Del cuento que ha comenzao.

¹ set up to it.

² literally, "close to my flesh."

³ a piece of sausage.

⁴ A *maté*—sort of tea made with "zerba" and sucked from a gourd through a metal tube.

⁵ immediately.

⁶ cut.

— Pues entonces, allá vá :
Otra vez el lienzo alzaron
Y hasta mis ojos dudaron,
Lo que vi . . . ¡ barbaridá !¹

¡ Qué quinta ! ¡ Virgen bendita !
¡ Viera amigaso el jardin !
Allí se via el jazmin,
El clavel, la margarita.

El toronjil, la retama
Y hasta estatuas compañoero,
Al lao de esa era un *chiquero* ²
La quinta de Don Lezama.³

Entre tanta maravilla
Que allí había, y medio á un lao,
Habian edificao
Una preciosa casilla.

Alli la rubia vivia
Entre las flores como ella.
Allí brillaba esa estrella
Que el pobre Dotor seguia.

Y digo *pobre Dotor*
Porque pienso, Don Laguna,
Que no hay desgracia ninguna
Como un desdichao amor.

— Puede ser ; pero amigaso,
Yo en las cuartas no me enriedo
Y en un lance, en que no puedo,
Hago de mi alma un cedaso.

¹ exclamation of admiration or surprise.

² sheep-pen.

³ well-known rich man.

Por hembras yo no me pierdo :
 La que me empaca¹ su amor
 Pasa por el cernidor
 Y . . . *si te vi, no me acuerdo.*²

Lo demas, es calentarse
 El *mate* al divino fluido. . . .³
 — ¡ Feliz quien tenga ese escudo
 Con que poder resguardarse !

Pero usted habla, Don Laguna
 Como un hombre que á vivido
 Sin haber nunca querido
 Con alma y vida á ninguna.

Cuando un verdadero amor
 Se estrella en una alma ingrata,
 Mas vale el fierro que mata
 Que el fuego devorador.

Siempre ese amor lo persigue
 A donde quiera que vá :
 Es una fatalidad
 Que á todas partes lo sigue.

Si usted en su rancho se queda,
 O si sale para un viage,
 Es de valde : ⁴ no hay parage
 Ande olvidarla usted pueda.

Cuando duerme todo el mundo
 Usted sobre su recaó,
 Se dá güeltas, desvelao,
 Pensando en su amor profundo.

¹ literally, "balks in her love."

² common saying, "If I ever saw you before, I don't remember."

³ "warming your tea for nothing."

⁴ useless.

Y si el viento hace sonar
Su pobre techo de paja
Cree usted que es *ella* que baja
Sus lágrimas á secar.

Y si en alguna lomada ¹
Tiene que dormir, al raso,²
Pensando en ella, amigaso,
Lo hallará la madrugada.

Allí acostao sobre abrojo :³
O entre cardos, Don Laguna
Verá su cara en la luna,
Y en las estrellas sus ojos.

¿ Que habrá que no le recuerde
Al bien de su alma querido,
Si hasta cree ver su vestido
En la nube que se pierde ?

Asina sufre en la ausencia
Quien sin ser querido quiere :
Aura verá como muere
De su prenda en la presencia.

Si en frente de esa deidá
En alguna parte se halla,
Es otra nueva batalla
Que el pobre corazon dá.

Si con la luz de sus ojos
Le alumbra la triste frente,
Usted, Don Laguna, siente
El corazon entre abrojos.

¹ hill.

² open air.

³ troublesome burr which gets into the wool of a sheep.

Su sangre comienza á alzarse
A la cabeza en tropel,¹
Y cree que quiere esa cruel
En su amargura gozarse.

Y si la ingrata le niega
Esa ligera mirada,
Queda su alma abandonada
Entre el dolor que la aniega.

Y usted firme en su pasión. . . .
Y van los tiempos pasando,
Un hondo surco dejando
En su infeliz corazón.

— Güeno² amigo : así será,
Pero me ha sentao el cuento . . .³
— ¡Que quiere! Es un sentimiento . . .
Tiene razón : allá vá : —

Pues señor, con gran misterio,
Traindo en la mano una sinta,
Se apareció entre la quinta
El sonso de Don Silverio.

Sin duda alguna saltó
Las dos zanjas de la güerta,⁴
Pues esa noche su puerta
La misma rubia cerró.

Rastriándolo⁵ se vinieron
El demonio y el Dotor,
Y tras el árbol mayor
A aguardarlo se escondieron.

¹ in a scurry.

² bueno.

³ stopped.

⁴ huerta.

⁵ on his trail.

Con las flores de la güerta
Y la cinta, un ramo armó
Don Silverio, y lo dejó
Sobre el umbral de la puerta.

— ¡Que no cairle una centella!

— ¿A quién? Al sonso?

— ¡Pues digo! . . .

¡Venir á obsequiarla, amigo,
Con las mismas flores *de ella!*

— Ni bien acomodó el gauchó,
Ya¹ rumbió . . .

— ¡Miren que hazaña!

Eso es ser mas que lagaña
Y hasta dá rabia, *caracho!*²

— El Diablo entonces salió
Con el Dotor, y le dijo;
“Esta vez prende de fijo
La *vacuna*³ crealó.”

Y el capote haciendo á un lao,
Desembainó allí un baulito,
Y jué y lo puso juntito
Al ramo del *abombao*.⁴

— No me hable de esa mulita:⁵

¡Qué apunte para una banca!

¿A que era májica blanca
Lo que trujo en la cajita?

— Era algo mas eficaz
Para las hembras, cuñao,
Verá si las ha calao
De lo lindo Satanás!

¹ cleared out.

² polite substitute for something “painful, frequent and free.”

³ heifer.

⁴ a fool.

⁵ a sort of armadillo = fool.

Tras del árbol se escondieron
Ni bien cargaron la mina,
Y mas que nunca, divina,
Venir á la rubia vieron.

La pobre, sin advertir,
En un banco se sentó,
Y un par de medias sacó
Y las comenzó á surcir.

Cinco minutos, por junto,
En las medias trabajó,
Por lo que calculo yó
Que tendrian solo un punto.

Dentró á espulgar á un rosal,
Por la hormiga consumido,
Y entonces jué cuando vido
Caja y ramo en el umbral.

Al ramo no le hizo caso,
Enderezó á la cajita,
Y sacó . . . ¡Virgen bendita ! . . .
¡Viera que cosa, amigaso !

¡ Qué anillo ! ¡ Qué prendedor !
¡ Qué rosetas soberanas !
¡ Qué collar ! ¡ Qué carabanass !¹
— ¡ Vea al Diablo tentador !

— ¡ No le dije Don Laguna ?
La rubia allí se colgó
Las prendas, y apareció
Mas platiada que la luna.

¹ ear-rings.

En la caja Lucifer
Habia puesto un espejo. . . .
— ¿Sabe que el Diábulo, canejo,
La conoce á la mujer?

— Cuando la rubia gastaba
Tanto mirarse, la luna,
Se apareció Don Laguna
La vieja que la cuidaba.

¡Viera la cara, cuñao,
De la vieja, al ver brillar
Como reliquias de altar
Las prendas del condenao!

“¿*Diaonde*¹ esté lujo sacás?”
La vieja, fula, decía,
Cuando gritó: — “*Avemaria!*”²
En la puerta, Satanás.

— “*Sin pecao!*”³ ¡Dentre señor!”
— “No hay perros?” — “Ya los ataron”
Y ya tambien se colaron
El Demonio y el Dotor.

El Diablo allí comenzó
A enamorar á la vieja,
Y el Dotorcito á la oreja
De la rubia se pegó.

— ¡Vea al Diablo haciendo gancho!⁴
— El caso jué que logró
Seducirla, y la llevó
A que le amostrase un chanco.

¹ deadonde.

² common salutation on approaching a house on the plains.

³ the answer to Ave Maria! or else, Bajese = dismount!

⁴ literally, “hooking-on.”

— ¡ Por supuesto, el Dotorcito
 Se quedó allí mano á mano ?
 — Dejuero, y ya verá hermano
 La *kendre*¹ que era el mocito.

Corcobió la rubiecita,
 Pero al fin se sosegó,
 Cuando el Dotor le contó
 Que él era el de la cajita.

Asignn² lo que presumo
 La³ rubia aflojaba laso,
 Porque el Dotor, amigaso,
 Se⁴ le queria ir al humo.

La rubia lo malició
 Y por entre las macetas,
 Le hizo unas cuantas gambetas
 Y la casilla ganó.

El Diablo tras de un rosal,
 Sin la vieja apareció.
 — ¡ A la cuenta la largó
 Jediendo entre algun maizal⁵

— La rubia, en vez de acostarse,
 Se lo pasó en la ventana,
 Y allí aguardó la mañana
 Sin pensar en desnudarse.

Ya la luna se escondia,
 Y el lucero se apagaba,
 Y ya tamien comenzaba
 A venir clariando el dia.

¹ sharp.² segun.³ allusion to an animal when lassoed, getting tired of bucking and running.⁴ take hold.⁵ corn-field.

¿ No ha visto usted de un yesquero
Loca una chispá salir,
Como dos varas seguir
Y de ahí perderse, aparcero ?

Pues de ese modo, cuñao,
Caminaban las estrellas
A morir, sin quedar de ellas
Ni un triste rastro borrao.

De los campos el aliento
Como sahumero venia,¹
Y alegre ya se ponía
El ganao en movimiento.

En los verdes arbolitos
Gotas de cristal brillaban
Y a ! suelo se descolgaban
Cantando los pajaritos.

Y era, amigaso, un contento
Ver los junquillos doblarse
Y los claveles cimbrarse
Al soplo del manso viento.

Y al tiempo de reventar
El boton de alguna rosa,
Venir una mariposa
Y comenzarle á chupar.

Y si se pudiera al cielo
Con un pingo comparar,
Tamien podría afirmar
Que estaba mudando el pelo.¹

¹ allusion to a horse's shedding his winter coat in spring.

— ¡ No sea bárbaro, canejo !
 ¡ Qué comparancia tan fiera !
 — No hay tal : pues de saino¹ que era
 Se iba poniendo azulejo.²

Cuando ha dao un madrugon
 No ha visto usté, embelesao,
 Ponerse blanco-azulao
 El mas negro fiubaron ?

— Dice bien, pero su caso
 Se ha hecho medio empacador. . . .
 — Aura³ viene lo mejor,
 Pare la oreja amigaso.

El Diablo dentró á retar
 Al dotor y entre el responso
 Le dijo : — “ ¿ Sabe que es sonzo ? ”
 ¿ Pa⁴ qué la dejó escapar ?

“ Ahi la tiene en la ventana :
 Por suerte no tiene reja,
 Y antes que venga la vieja
 Aproveche la mañana.”

Don Fausto ya atropelló
 Diciendo : — “ ¡ basta de ardiles ! ”
 La⁵ cazó de los cuadriles
 Y ella tambien lo abrazó !

— ¡ Oiganlé⁶ á la dura !
 — En esto. . . .

Bajaron el cortinao :
 Alcance el frasco cuñao.
 — Agatas le queda un resto.

¹ dark horse.

² a “ blueish-white ” horse.

³ ahora.

⁴ para.

⁵ catch hold.

⁶ gee-whiz!

V.

— Al rato el lienzo subió
Y deshecha y lagrimiendo,
Contra una máquina hilando
La rubia se apareció.

La pobre dentró á quejarse
Tan amargamente allí,
Que yo á mis ojos senti
Dos lágrimas asomarse.

— ¡ Que verguenza !

— Puede ser :

Pero, amigaso, confiese
Que á usté tambien lo enternece
El llanto de una mujer.

Cuando á usté un hombre lo ofende,
Ya sin mirar para atrás,
Pela¹ el flamenco y ¡sas! ¡trás!
Dos puñaladas le priende.

Y cuando la autoridá
La *partida*² le ha soltao
Usté en su overo rosao
Bebiendo³ los vientos vá.

Naides⁴ de usté se despega
Porque se aiga desgraciao,⁵
Y es muy bien agazajao
En cualquier rancho á que llega.

¹ knife.

² nadie.

³ country-police.

⁴ lit., "drinking the winds."

⁵ means here, to kill a man.

Si es hombre trajador,
 Ande¹ quiera gana el pan :
 Para eso con usté van
 Bolas, lazo y maniador.

Pasa el tiempo, vuelve al pago,
 Y cuanta mas larga ha sido
 Su ausencia, usté es recibido
 Con mas gusto y mas halago.

Engaña usté á una infeliz,
 Y para mayor vergüenza
 Vá y le cerdea la trenza²
 Antes de hacerse perdiz.³

La ata, si le dá la gana,
 En la cola de su overo
 Y le amuestra al mundo entero
 La trenza⁴ de ña Julana.

Si ella tubiese un hermano
 Y en su rancho miserable
 Hubiera colgao un sable,
 Juera otra cosa, paisano.

Pero sola y despreciada
 En el mundo ¿que ha de hacer.
 ¿A quién la cara volver?
 ¿Ande llevar la pisada.

Soltar al aire su queja
 Será su solo consuelo,
 Y empapar⁵ con llanto el pelo
 Del hijo que usté le deja.

¹ adonde.² lit., "cut off her plait" = don't keep a promise.³ take to your heels.⁴ the plait.⁵ wet.

Pues ese dolar projundo
A la rubia la secaba,
Y por eso se quejaba
Delante de todo el mundo.

Aura, confiese cuñao,
Que el corazon mas calludo,
Y el gauchito mas entrafado.¹
Alli habria lagrimiao.²

—¿Sabe que me ha sacudido
De lo lindo el corazon?
Vea sino el lagrimon³
Que al oirlo se me ha salido. . . .

—¡Oiganlé!
— Me ha derrotao:
No guarde rencor amigo. . . .
—Si es en broma que no le digo. . . .
—Siga su cuento, cuñao.

La rubia se arrebozó⁴
Con un pañuelo ceniza;
Diciendo que se iba á misa
Y puerta ajuera⁵ salió.

Y crea usted lo que guste
Porque es cosa de dudar. . . .
¡Quien habia de esperar
Tan grande *desvarajuste*!⁶

Todo el mundo estaba ajeno
De lo que allí iba á pasar,
Cuando el Diablo hizo sonar
Como un pito de sereno.⁷

¹ hard-hearted gauchito.

² cry.

³ big tear.

⁴ wrapped herself up.

⁵ áfuera.

⁶ disaster.

⁷ policeman's whistle.

Una iglesia apareció
En menos que canta un gallo. . . .
— ¡Vea si dentra á caballo !
— Me larga creameló.

Creo que estaban alzando¹
En una misa cantada,
Cuando aquella desgraciada
Llegó á la puerta llorando.

Allí la pobre cayó
De rodillas sobre el suelo,
Alzó los ojos al cielo
Y cuatro credos rezó.

Nunca he sentido mas pena
Que al mirar á esa mujer :
Amigo, aquello era ver
A la mesma magdalena.²

De aquella rubia rosada
Ni rastro abia quedao :
Era un clavel marchitao
Una rosa deshojada.

Su frente, que antes brilló
Tranquila, como la luna,
Era un cristal, Don Laguna.
Que la desgracia enturbió.

Ya de sus ojos hundidos
Las lágrimas se secaban,
Y entre temblando rezaban
Sus lábios descoloridos.

¹ elevation of the Host.

² the weeping Magdalen.

Pero el Diablo la uña afila,
 Cuando está desocupao,
 Y alli estaba el condenao
 A una vara de la pila.¹

La rubia quiso dentrar
 Pero el Diablo la atajó,
 Y tales cosas le habló
 Que la obligó disparar.

Cuasi le dá el accidente ²
 Cuando á su casa llegaba,
 La suerte que le quedaba
 En la vereda de enfrente.

Al rato el Diablo dentró
 Con Don Fausto, muy del brazo.³
 Y una guitarra, amigaso
 Ahi mesmo desenvainó.

—¿Qué me dice amigo Pollo?
 —Como lo oye, compañero:
 El Diablo es tan guitarrero
 Camo el paisano ⁴ mas criollo.

El sol ya se iba poniendo,
 La claridá se ahuyentaba,
 Y la noche se acercaba
 Su negro poncho ⁵ tendiendo.

Ya las estrellas brillantes
 Una por una salian,
 Y los montes parecian
 Batallones de gigantes.

¹ holy-water font.

² a fit.

³ "very much arm in arm."

⁴ "out and out native."

⁵ There is a great variety of ponchos: the common "Brummagem" striped article, the costly vicuña, and the heavy blue-cloth; the gaucho's umbrella and blanket.

Ya las obejas balaban
En el corral prisioneras,
Y ya las aves caseras,
Sobre el alero ganaban.

El toque¹ de la oracion
Triste los aires rompía
Y entre sombras se movía
El crespo sauce lloron.

Ya sobre la agua estancada
De silenciosa laguna,
Al asomarse la luna,
Se miraba retratada.

Y haciendo un extraño ruido
En las hojas trompezaban,
Los pájaros que volaban
A guareperce² en su nido.

Ya del sereno³ brillando
La hoja de la higuera estaba,
Y la lechuza pasaba
De trecho en trecho chillando.

La pobre rubia sin duda,
En llanto se deshacía,
Y rezandoá Dios pedía
Que le em prestase su ayuda.

Yo presumo que el Doctor,
Hostigao por satanás,
Quería otras hojas mas
De la desdichada flor.

¹ evening Angelus.

² huddle.

³ dew.

A la ventana se arrima
Y le dice al condenao : —
“Dele no mas sin cuidao
Aunque reviente la prima.”¹

El Diablo *agastas* tocó
Las clavijas y al momento
Como una arpa el instrumento
De tan bien templao sonó.

— Tal vez lo traiba templao
Por echarla de *baquiano*. . . .²
— Todo puede ser hermano,
Pero ¡ oyese al condenao !

Al principio se florío
Con un lindo bordoneo,
Y en ancas de aquel floréo
Una decima cantó.

No bien llegaba al final
De su canto, el condenao,
Cuando el Capitan, armao,
Se apareció en el umbral.

— Pues yo encampaña lo hacia. . . .
— Daba la casualidá
Que llegaba á la ciudá
En comision,³ ese día.

— Por supuesto hubo fandango. . . .⁴
— La lata ahi no mas peló,
Y al infierno le aventó
De un cintarazó el *changango*.⁵

¹ the E string.
² like a master.

³ special service.
⁴ “there was a row.”

⁵ guitar.

VI.

—¡ Pobre rubia ! Vea usted
Cuanto ha venido á sufrir
Se le podia decir
¡ Quién te vido y quien te vé !¹

—¡ Ansi es el mundo, amigaso :
Nada dura, Don Laguna,
Hoy nos rie la fortuna
Mañana nos dá un guascaso.²

Las embras, en mi opinion,
Train un destino mas fiero,
Y si quiere, compañero,
Le haré una comparacion.

Nace una flor en el suelo,
Una delicia es cada hoja,
Y hasta el rocío la moja
Como un bautismo del cielo.

Alli está ufana la flor
Linda, fresca y olorosa :
A ella vá la mariposa,
A ella vuela el picaflor.

Hasta el viento pasajero
Se³ prenda al verla tan bella,
Y no pasa por sobre ella
Sin darle un beso primero.

¡ Lástima causa esa flor
Al verla tan consentida !
Cree que es tan larga su vida
Como fragante su olor.

¹ “ who would have thought it ! ”

² a cut.

³ fall in love.

Nunca vió el rayo que raja
 A la renegrida nube
 Ni vé al gusano que sube,
 Ni al fuego del sol que baja.

Ningun temor en el seno
 De la pobrecita cabe,
 Pues que se amaca¹ no sabe,
 Entre el fuego y el veneno.

Sus tiernas hojas despliega
 Sin la menor desconfianza,
 Y el gusano ya la alcanza. . . .
 Y el sol de las doce llega. . . .

So vá el sol abrasador,
 Pasa á otra planta el gusano,
 Y la tarde . . . encuentra, hermano
 El cadáver de la flor.

Piense en la rubia cuñao
 Cuando entre flores vivia,
 Y diga si presumia
 Destino tan desgraciao.

Usté que es alcanzador²
 Afijesé en su memoria,
 Y diga : ¿ es igual la historia
 De la rúbia y de la flor ?

— Se me hace tan parecida
 Que ya mas no puede ser,
 — Y hay mas : le falta que ver
 A la rubia en la crujida.³

¹ hovers.² "clear-headed" = "a reacher."³ prison.

— ¿Qué me cuenta ? ¡ Desdichada !

— Por última vez se alzó

El lienzo, y apareció

En la cárcel encerrada.

— ¿ Sabe que yo no colijo

El pórque de la prision

— Tanto penar ; la razon

Se le jué, y lo mató al hijo.

Ya la habia sentenciao

A muerte, á la pobrecita,

Y en una negra camita

Dormia un sueño alterao.

Ya redoblaba el tambor,

Y el cuadro ¹ ajuera formaban,

Cuando al calaboso entraban

El Demonio y el Dotor.

— ¡ Veanló al Diablo si larga

Sus presas así no mas !

¿ A que anduvo Satanas

Hasta oir sonar la descarga ? ²

— Esta vez se le *chingó* ³

El cuete y ya lo verá. . . .

— *Priendalé* al cuento que ya

No lo vuelvo á tajar yo.

— Al dentrar hicieron ruido,

Creo que con los cerrojos ;

Abrió la rubia los ojos

Y alli contra ella los vido.

¹ let, "forming the square."

² In Argentina, death-penalty is by shooting, although the old style of execution, throat-cutting, still obtains in the provinces.

³ let, "the rocket fizzled."

La infeliz ya trastornada,
A causa de tanta herida,
Se encontraba en la crujida
Sin darse cuenta de nada.

Al ver venir al Dotor,
Ya comenzó á disvariar,
Y hasta le quiso cantar
Unas¹ décimas de amor.

La pobrecita soñaba
Con sus antiguos amores,
Y creia mirar sus flores
En los fierros que miraba.

Ella creia que como antes,
Al dir á regar su güerta,
Se encontraria an la puerta
Una caja con diamantes.

Sin ver que en su situacion
La² caja que le esperaba,
Era la que redoblaba,
Antes de la ejecucion.

Redepente³ se afijó
En la cara de Luzbel :
Sin duda⁴ *al malo* vió en él,
Porque allí muerta cayó.

Don Fausto al ver tal desgracia,
De rodillas cayó al suelo,
Y dentró á pedir al cielo
La recibiese en sugracia.

¹ love-ditty.

² Play on the word "caja," box, and also "drum," i. e., the roll of the drum announcing the execution.

³ de repente.

⁴ devil.

Allí el hombre arrepentido
De tanto mal que habia hecho,
Se daba golpes de pecho
Y lagrimaba aflijido.

En dos pedazos se abrió
La paré de la crujida,
Y nó es cosa de esta vida
Lo que allí se apareció.

Y no crea que es historia :
Yo vi entre una nubecita,
La alma de la rubiecita,
Que se subia á la gloria.

San Miguel, en la ocasion,
Vino entre nubes bajando
Con su escudo y *revoliando*
Un sable tirabuzon.

Pero el Diablo, que miró
El sable aquel y el escudo,
Lo mesmito que un *peludo*¹
Bajo la tierra ganó.

Cayó el lienzo finalmente
Y ahí tiene el cuento contaó. . . .
—*Prieste* el pañuelo cufiao :
Me está sudando la frente.

Lo que admiro es su firmeza
Al ver esas brujerías
— He andao cuatro ó cinco dias
Atacao² de la cabeza.

¹ kind of armadillo.

² "with my head in a whirl."

—Ya es güeno dir ensillando. . . .

— Tome ese último *traguito*
Y eche el frasco á ese pocito¹
Para que quede boyando.

Cuando los dos acabaron
De ensillar sus parejeros,
Como güenos compañeros,
Juntos *al trote agarraron*.²
En una fonda se apiaron
Y pidieron de cenar :
Cuando ya iban á acabar,
Don LAGUNA sacó un rollo³
Diciendo : — “ El gasto del POLLO
De aquí se lo han de cobrar.”

F. M. PAGE.

¹ little hole.

² “strike a trot.”

³ a roll of paper money.

II.—WARMPTH.

Among the many interesting phenomena of speech-life are the disappearance and the development of a *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, or *g* between two consonants. The *suppression* of the stop seems to be usually due to a general tendency to simplify consonant groups, whenever such reduction facilitates utterance and does not interfere with intelligibility; thus Vulgar Latin *compto* becomes *comto* and then *conto*. The *growth* of a consonant between two others appears to be occasioned either by a lack of simultaneousness in the action of different organs, as in English *Hampton* from *Hamton*, or by an unconscious effort to bridge over a difficult transition, as in Old French *estre* from *esre*; sometimes, perhaps, as in Greek *ἀνδρός*, it is brought about by a combination of these causes.

In modern English, under the tyrannical sway of our traditional orthography, these natural developments of language can make but little progress; but in unstudied speech we still find some examples of phonetic change, which serve to indicate the direction of present tendencies. It is hardly necessary to say that cases of omission are far commoner than those of insertion. We are all familiar with such forms as *kól-sòs*, *ól mæn*, *las nait*, *mvs gó*.¹ Sweet suppresses *p* in *Hæmfis* and *kænsvmfən*, *d* in *kólblvðid* and *ól gré ræt*, *t* in *btsli*, *jús tə*, *kas daun*, *mòs disrepytəbl*, *pas twelv*, *sun tel*, etc. In the common form *dó nó* both *t* and *n* are lost. In *pvñkin* the *p* is gone and the nasal is assimilated to the *k*; similar alterations are shown by Sweet's *dón gó* and *kan km*.

Bell says, in his *Essays and Postscripts* (p. 18): "Few speakers accomplish the distinction clearly between *mast* and

¹ The system of transcription I use is that of the American Dialect Society.

masked, mart and *marked, taught* and *talked*. . . . The plural *sects* few persons distinguish phonetically from the word *sex*." I have often heard *sects* for *selds*, and sometimes *mast* for *maskt*, but the confusion of *mart* and *markt*, *tot* and *tolt* has never come to my notice. With regard to syllables in which a voiceless stop is preceded by a nasal and followed by another voiceless stop, Miss Soames observes :¹ "Though we try to sound *p* in *jumped* and *k* in *thanked*, there is no escape of breath before *t*, as e. g. in French *actif*, and neither can the *p* and *k* be heard in closing, when preceded by *m* or *n*, so I believe neither sound can be made audible." This is certainly true of ordinary speech ; and yet we have the impression of making and of hearing the *p* and the *k*. We probably do form them after a fashion ; that is, after the nasal buzz has ceased, we hold the *m* and the *n* positions a moment, and the *t*-stop a moment longer, the acoustic result being a double pause between the voiced nasal and the final voiceless explosion.

Some two years ago, in a circular which I shall presently describe, I submitted to 140 correspondents seven examples of the loss of *p*, *t*, and *k*. The percentages of those who omit these stops are given, in round numbers, below :

	Boston (and vicinity).	NEW ENGLAND (without Boston and vicinity).	NEW YORK CITY (and Brooklyn).	NEW YORK STATE (without New York City and Brooklyn).	PENNSYLVANIA.	NORTH (Ohio, Mich., Ind., W. Va., Ill.).	West (Minn., Iowa, Mo., N. D., Kansas).	SOUTH (Va., N. C., S. C., Ky., Tenn., Miss., La., Texas).
Ham(p)ton...	13	9	0	0	0	13	21	24
exac(t)ly.....	50	10	10	25	0	20	30	55
jus(t) like.....	55	25	25	25	0	15	30	45
respec(t)ful...	20	0	10	10	0	15	10	35
ar(c)tic.....	5	10	20	10	0	10	20	10
as(k)ed.....	35	40	35	10	0	10	30	20
pun(c)tual.....	10	10	10	10	0	10	10	20

¹Quoted by Storm, *Englische Philologie*, second edition, p. 443.

A glance will show that the suppression is commonest in Boston and in the South. The American usage, taken as a whole, would seem to be much more conservative than the South English described by Sweet. Northern Englishmen, on the other hand, if Lloyd is a fair representative, are even more intolerant of reduction than we; in *Die neueren Sprachen*, III, 5 (p. 307), he makes the following assertion: "The only pronunciation of this kind which I have heard from good (generally Southern) speakers is *āst* for *āskt*."

It is, however, in a series of words not yet examined that the stop most easily drops out—namely, those in which it stands between a nasal and a spirant, as in *kənsumpʃən* and *sændz*. This, too, is almost the only situation in which we perceive, in our actual speech, an interconsonantal stop coming into existence. The development of such groups will form, then, the special subject of this paper. Let us consider first the cases of loss.

In such words as *bumptious*, *consumption*, *Hampshire*,¹ *Simpson*¹ we have a *p* between *m* and *f* or *s*. *Cents* shows the combination *nts*. In *finds*, *sends*, etc., *d* stands between *n* and *z*. *Anxious*, *distinction*, *function* furnish instances of *k* preceded by *ŋ* and followed by *f*. The disappearance of this *p*, *t*, *d*, or *k* simply means that the soft palate, which is lowered for the nasal, is not raised until the other organs have assumed or are assuming the position for the final spirant.

In the circular already mentioned I attempted to ascertain the frequency of omission among educated speakers. The results appear in the following table, where the figures show the number *per centum* of speakers who suppress the stop:

¹ In words like *Hampshire*, *Hampstead*, *Sampson*, *Simpson*, *Thompson*, where the *p* appeared early enough to be recognized in the regular spelling, any omission of this consonant must, I think, generally be considered as an example of suppression. In the case of *Sampson* and *Thompson* the influence of the forms *Samson* and *Thomson* is perhaps of some importance.

	Boston (and vicinity).	NEW ENGLAND (without Boston and vicinity).	NEW YORK CITY (and Brooklyn).	NEW YORK STATE (without New York City and Brooklyn).	PENNSYLVANIA.	North (Ohio, Mich., Ind., Wia., Ill.).	West (Minn., Iowa, Mo., N. D., Kansas).	SOUTH (Va., N. C., S. C., Ky., Tenn., Miss., La., Texas).
bum(p)tious.....	26	0	8	8	33	19	0	20
consum(p)tion.....	43	22	27	8	33	33	29	36
Ham(p)shire.....	35	13	8	8	0	20	21	24
Sim(p)son.....	17	4	10	8	33	20	7	28
cen(t)s.....	30	22	9	20	17	25	36	52
fin(d)s.....	30	35	27	45	0	25	21	52
sen(d)s.....	40	30	40	40	0	30	21	40
anxiety.....	50	52	60	70	67	81	86	96
anxious.....	4	17	10	8	17	5	21	24
distin(c)tion.....	17	13	20	15	0	5	14	16
fun(c)tion.....	17	13	20	8	0	0	7	8

It will be seen that the fall of the stop is tolerably general in *consumption*, *cents*, *finds*, and *sends*, extremely common in *anxiety* (if this is a case of fall), and comparatively rare in the other words. Here, again, the South and Boston take the lead. I do not know how far English usage accords with ours. Sweet has, as we have noted, *Hæmfis* and *konsomfsen*.

The groups *ntf* and *ndʒ* require separate mention.¹ I see no good reason to doubt that the *ch* and the "soft *g*" in such words as *bench*, *inches*, *lounge*, *danger* formerly had their usual values of *tf* and *dʒ*. In the England of our own day, however, this *t* and this *d* seem to have disappeared from the speech of the greater part of the people. Lloyd says, in *Die neueren Sprachen*, III, 5 (p. 306): "I know the pronunciations *filʃf*, *Frenʃf*, only from the works of Southern phoneticians, never having heard them, even in the South." Miss Soames, on the other hand, gives us, on page 77 of her *Introduction to the Study of Phonetics*, the forms *bentʃ*, *ventʃər*, *boldʒ*, *frindʒ* (but *milʃ*); and in *Phonetische Studien*, v (p. 231), she avers that "the combinations *tf*, *ntf* in words like *filch*, *French* are still

¹All that is said of these combinations applies also to *lf*, as in *filch*, *culture*, and to *ldʒ*, as in *bulge*, *soldier*.

in use. I always use them myself," she continues, "and indeed was greatly surprised when I first learnt that they could be pronounced otherwise." Sweet has only *nf* or *ng* in nearly all cases, but in *century* his practice appears to be variable.¹ Of this word Murray remarks:² "Nobody says *s'enfəri* (when sober), so far as I can hear: it is universally scouted, compared to a tipsy man's *quesh'n* for *question*. I hear, according to care, *s'entiŭri*, *s'entyŭri*, *s'entfŭri*, *s'entfəri*, but always *tf* present. I say the first, so do all my family." He observes, further, concerning *nge*:³ "Perhaps always *ng* when final: I seem to touch the *d* in *hinge*, *change*, *lounge*, but many people do not feel that they do, and acoustically it is very difficult to decide. When medial, I certainly touch the *d*; and I hear it in most people, when they sing for me *dan-ger* to two long notes; but it is difficult to detect it in speech." In the *New English Dictionary* the stop appears to be omitted only in final *nf*: thus we find *benf*, but *ædventfər*, *ëndʒel*, *tfëndʒ*.

What is the treatment of these groups in America? The *Century*, the *International*, and the *Standard* dictionaries retain the stop everywhere, and in this they doubtless represent the usage of Professors Whitney, Porter, and March, who had charge of the pronunciation in these works.⁴ Professor Sheldon generally has *ntf* and *ndʒ*, as in *bunch* and *strange*, but, curiously enough, says *senfəri*.⁵ Professor Weeks has put himself on record for *ærendʒ* and *frentf*.⁶ Dr. Menger, on the other hand, pronounces, according to his own notation, *frenf* and *bnf*.⁶ In the New York dialect described by Professor Emerson, the

¹ In the first edition of his *Elementarbuch* he gives both *senfəri* and *senfəri*; in the third edition, only *senfəri*.

² Quoted by Storm, *Englische Philologie*, second edition, p. 442.

³ I know, from their own testimony, that this is true of Professor Whitney and Professor Porter.

⁴ *Dialect Notes*, II, p. 36.

⁵ *Maître phonétique*, Nov., 1894, p. 178.

⁶ *Maître phonétique*, Dec., 1893, pp. 168, 169.

stop is preserved in all cases.¹ I always keep it, and I think this is the practice of most American speakers whom I hear. My circular was not at all successful in eliciting reliable information on this point. From the answers to my inquiries concerning *bunch*, *century*, *venture*, *bulge*, *strange*, *stranger*, and from the marginal notes that were often added, it was evident that most of the testimony on this subject was of very little value. The cause of this failure seemed to be the popular idea that English *ch* and "soft *g*" always represent simple sounds—a fallacy that is still upheld by some orthoepists and spelling reformers. Wishing, nevertheless, to make the most of the materials I had collected, I hit upon the following plan: I examined the roll of my correspondents and picked out those whom I knew to be competent, through their acquaintance with phonetics, to analyze their consonant-groups; while making my choice, I took pains not to look at the replies, and I was careful not to select anyone with whose pronunciation of these words I was already familiar. The result was a list of twelve men, seven from the East, one from the West, and four from the South. The figures below indicate how many of the twelve omit the *t* or the *d* in each word:

bunch, 0	century, 3	venture, 1
bulge, 2	strange, 4	stranger, 3

The difference between *bunch* and *strange* is very striking. Noteworthy, too, are the facts that two persons have *t* in *venture* but not in *century*,² and that one has *d* in *strange* but not in *stranger*. There is no trace of dialect division on geographical lines.

We come now to the case of the *development* of a stop between nasal and spirant. *Sense*, *comfort*, and *length* are examples of

¹ *Dialect Notes*, III, pp. 168, 169. On p. 168 we find even *censure* and *mention* with a *t*.

² It is hardly necessary to say that not one of the twelve has the entirely artificial pronunciation *sentyuri*, *ventyur*.

combinations in which the spirant is voiceless. In such words there are three possibilities: (1) the first consonant may retain its voice and its nasality until the spirant begins, as in $s + e +$ fully voiced $n + s$; (2) the latter part of the nasal may, while retaining its nasality, become unvoiced, as in $s + e +$ voiced $n +$ voiceless $n + s$; (3) both voice and nasality may cease before the tongue or lip-position of the first consonant is abandoned, as in $s + e + n + t + s$. The first of these three pronunciations is, I think, rarely used: $s + e +$ fully voiced $n + s$ would be understood as *sends* rather than as *sense*. But the second and third are in common use, and are not always easily distinguished. If the spirant is voiced, there are only two varieties: (1) the nasal is immediately followed by the spirant, as in $p + e + n + z$; (2) the nasal quality ceases before the spirant begins, as in $p + e + n + d + z$. It should be said here that if the spirant is final, it is regularly whispered instead of voiced, whether a non-nasal stop is formed or not.

In November, 1893, acting in behalf of the Phonetic Section, I sent out to nearly all parts of the United States a list of variable words. I received 140 replies, representing six states west of the Mississippi, and all the states east of that river, except New Jersey, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. My correspondents are all highly educated persons, a large proportion being college professors. The pronunciation indicated by each writer is supposed to be (as far as he can determine it) that of his "own unstudied speech." An amusing feature of the answers was the hostility manifested by many correspondents toward any peculiarities that did not belong to their own dialect: a man who pronounced *wormpɸ* wondered whether it was possible for a human being to say *sɒmpɸɪŋ*, while one who was partial to *sɒmpɸɪŋ* expressed by three exclamation points his contempt for *wormpɸ*. Nevertheless, I feel sure that nearly every writer described his own usage, in the main, intelligently and faithfully, although he may occasionally have been misled by the printed forms.

In the following table the figures show the percentage of speakers who develop a stop between the nasal and the spirant:

	BOSTON (and vicinity).	NEW ENGLAND (without Boston and vicinity).	NEW YORK CITY (and Brooklyn).	NEW YORK STATE (without New York City and Brooklyn).	PENNSYLVANIA.	NORTH (Ohio, Mich., Ind., Wia., Ill.).	WEST (Minn., Iowa, Mo., N. D., Kansas).	SOUTH (Va., N. C., S. C., Ky., Tenn., Miss., La., Texas).
Amsterdam...	13	0	18	30	33	19	43	19
camphor.....	13	4	10	20	0	35	36	24
comfort.....	4	0	0	15	0	10	29	12
Samson.....	50	17	18	58	0	48	36	40
something....	26	4	18	33	17	20	29	24
warmth.....	50	30	45	85	0	45	71	48
answer.....	35	4	36	46	0	20	14	12
fourteenth....	60	43	67	70	60	70	64	68
sense.....	30	22	20	45	0	35	29	12
pens.....	4	0	0	0	0	5	21	4
length.....	78	60	80	85	83	81	71	84
strength.....	65	60	80	85	83	67	71	76

In the first two columns the contrast between the easy-going speech of the city and the careful utterance of the country is very marked. The pronunciation of rural New England and of Pennsylvania appears to be highly artificial. Notice the great difference between Pennsylvania and New York State in the case of *warmth*. The extreme rarity of *pendz*, considered in connection with the popularity of *fainz* and *senz* (as shown in a preceding table), naturally leads to the supposition that, were it not for orthographic influences, the combination *ndz* would be very uncommon; it is, I think, entirely foreign to my own dialect.

To obtain a rough estimate of the prevailing practice in the United States, I have averaged the figures in all the foregoing tables (except the first), giving, however, three times as much importance to the North as to any other division:

I. OMISSION.

<i>bomþs</i> , 15	<i>bompþs</i> , 85	<i>fains</i> , 29	<i>fainds</i> , 71
<i>konsomþn</i> , . . 30	<i>konsompþn</i> , . 70	<i>sens</i> , 30	<i>sends</i> , 70
<i>hæmþor</i> , . . . 17	<i>hæmpþor</i> , . . 83	<i>stréng</i> , 33	<i>stréndg</i> , . . . 67
<i>simsn</i> , 17	<i>simpn</i> , 83	<i>stréngor</i> , . . . 25	<i>stréndgør</i> , . . 75
<i>bomf</i> , 0	<i>bomf</i> , 100	<i>ænkæwitt</i> , . . . 72	<i>ænkæwitt</i> , . . 28
<i>sensþori</i> , . . . 25	<i>sensþori</i> , . . . 75	<i>ænfæs</i> , 12	<i>ænkþs</i> , 88
<i>sens</i> , 26	<i>sens</i> , 74	<i>distinjón</i> , . . . 11	<i>distinkþn</i> , . . 89
<i>venþor</i> , 8	<i>venþor</i> , 92	<i>fonþn</i> , 7	<i>fonkþn</i> , 93

II. INSERTION.

<i>æmsterdæm</i> , . 80	<i>cæmptærdæm</i> , 20	<i>ænsor</i> , 79	<i>æntsor</i> , 21
<i>kæmþor</i> , . . . 79	<i>kæmpþor</i> , . . . 21	<i>fórtinþ</i> , 36	<i>fórtinþ</i> , . . . 64
<i>kæmþori</i> , . . . 91	<i>kæmpþori</i> , . . . 9	<i>sens</i> , 74	<i>sens</i> , 26
<i>sæmsn</i> , 64	<i>sæmpsn</i> , 36	<i>pens</i> , 96	<i>pends</i> , 4
<i>somþin</i> , 79	<i>sompþin</i> , 21	<i>lenþ</i> , 21	<i>lenþ</i> , 79
<i>worþ</i> , 54	<i>worþþ</i> , 46	<i>strenþ</i> , 28	<i>strenþþ</i> , . . . 72

One fact seems to be indicated by these numbers, namely, that a non-nasal stop is developed more readily before þ than before the other spirants. Compare *something*, *warmth*, *fourteenth*, *length*,¹ *strength*¹ with *Amsterdam*, *camphor*, *comfort*, *answer*, *sense*. It should be noted, however, that in all the words in the first series, except *something*, the spirant is final, whereas in the second list the consonants are followed, in every case but *sense*, by an atonic syllable. The presence of this unaccented syllable probably interferes with any lengthening of the preceding consonant group, and so, perhaps, renders more difficult the development of a plainly audible *p*, *t*, or *k*. We may explain in this way the difference between *something* and the other examples of þ.² *Sense*, on the other hand, shows only a few more insertions of *t* than *answer*. The prevalence

¹ From *lenþ* and *strenþ*, without *k*, come, I suppose, the forms *lenþ* and *strenþ*, which are occasionally used by educated speakers.

² Possibly a consciousness of the component parts of *something* tends to check the introduction of a *p* in this word.

of *p* in *Samson* is doubtless due in part to the influence of the name *Sampson*.

On merely theoretical grounds, a philologist would perhaps have supposed that every speaker would incline either to develop or to suppress the non-nasal stop throughout—that persons who said *æmsterdæm* would pronounce *hæmʃər*, and that those who pronounced *bʌmpʃəs* would say *kʌmpfərt*. According to this supposition, *sense* and *cents* would always be confounded, some speakers omitting and some using the *t* in both words.¹ In actual speech, however, the influence of spelling plays an extremely important part, and tends to make the spoken word correspond as closely as possible to its written symbol. In such cases as *cents* and *rants*, moreover, the presence of *t* in some other form of the word (*cent*, *rant*) must be taken into account. Furthermore, the evidence I have obtained seems to indicate that even without the agency of spelling and analogy the dialect of the individual speaker might be anything but consistent.² Among the 140 persons consulted, eight use *k* in *length* but not in *strength*, while two use it in *strength* but not in *length*; several have *k* in *function* but not in *distinction*; the *p* of *consumption* is omitted twice as often as that of *bumptious*,³ and *p* is twice as common in *camphor* as in *comfort*.⁴ For the different treatment of the *x* in *anxious* and in *anxiety* there is doubtless some historical reason.⁵ To one who is in the habit

¹ In point of fact, about 50 per cent. of my correspondents confound *cents* and *sense*, half of them by dropping the *t* from *cents*, and half by inserting it in *sense*.

² I found in my replies nothing like consistency in the usage of any one person or of any one state. In New York and Pennsylvania there seemed to be somewhat less confusion than elsewhere.

³ This word may be affected by the analogy of *bump*, from which it is perhaps derived. I do not understand, however, why *consumption* should lose its *p* so much oftener than *Hampshire*.

⁴ I suspect that the pronunciation of *camphor* is somewhat affected by the presence of a printed *p*, although here this letter is of course only a part of the digraph *ph* = *f*.

⁵ For these two words the pronunciations given by the dictionaries, *æŋkʃəs* and *æŋzaɪəti*, prove to be in accordance with the practice of the majority of speakers.

of regarding phonetic laws as operating inexorably and uniformly, all these facts are rather surprising. But if we look at the matter in the light of every-day experience, we can easily understand the existence of countless inconsistencies. A child, for instance, may learn *length* from someone who sounds the *k*, and *strength* from somebody who leaves it out, and then fail to assimilate these two words. It is, in fact, only when we examine, classify, and compare the pronunciations of a large body of people, that we arrive at anything approaching regularity; then, and then only, we begin to comprehend the principles that are determining speech-development.

Can we, now, viewing our results as a whole, draw from them any general inferences? We may, at least, hazard a conjecture. The tables have shown, on the one hand, a strong tendency to insert, and a weaker tendency to omit a stop between a nasal and a voiceless spirant. On the other hand, we have observed that *nz* almost never becomes *ndz*, while the opposite development is very general; we have seen that in the group *ndʒ* the *d* appears to be falling out; we may, too, note the fact that the growth of a *b* between *m* and *z* (as in *times*, *crimson*) or a *d* between *n* and *v* (as in *anvil*, *envelope*) is practically unknown. These facts seem to point to the following conclusions: 1st, living American English is averse to the combination of nasal + stop + voiced spirant, which it strives to reduce and does not allow to develop; 2d, with regard to the group nasal + stop + voiceless spirant, there are at present two contrary tendencies, one—the stronger—working to create and to preserve it, the other laboring to destroy it and to prevent its formation. All of these movements are held in check by the conservative influence of spelling.

What are the special causes of these two conflicting inclinations—the fondness for the stop before voiceless, and the hostility to it before both voiceless and voiced spirants? One is perhaps tempted, at first sight, to ascribe them both to defective perception. A child, thinking he hears *wormph*, when the

speaker really says *worm*), may adopt the former pronunciation, and keep it through life. It is, however, important to remember that we are studying the dialects of cultivated men, to whom the printed word is, on the average, fully as familiar as the spoken one. In fact, a great many—possibly most—of the words in our list must have been first learned from books. We must, therefore, look elsewhere—in the operations of the vocal organs themselves—for a probable explanation. At this point it would be of great advantage to us to make a series of experiments with an instrument composed of Professor Weeks's soft palate explorer¹ and Rousselot's voice indicator.² This I have been unable to do; and until it is done, we must base our speculations on data obtained without artificial aid.

In attempting to find some physiological reason for our phenomena, we must bear in mind that the stop, in any case, is barely audible, so that neither its presence nor its absence has any marked effect on the intelligibility of speech. This being understood, we may perhaps attribute the *fall* of the consonant to a certain sluggishness of the *velum*: in order to form a clear *p*, *t*, *d*, or *k*, the soft palate must be promptly raised; and the speaker, vaguely aware that these sounds are not necessary, is naturally disposed to lift the veil in a leisurely way, sparing himself the effort of a sudden movement, and allowing the nasality to extend unnoticed into the following spirant. But how shall we explain the *coming* of a stop? There is in English (and in other languages as well) a general inclination to anticipate voicelessness—to devocalize the latter part of a sonant that precedes a surd or a pause: the *v* of *have* and the *z* of *rose* are examples of the loss of glottal vibration before a pause; and we have already seen that a nasal standing before a voiceless spirant, as in *comfort*, *sense*, *length*, is partly unvoiced. Now, it seems to me that the formation of a *p*, *t*, or *k* under these latter conditions may be due to an

¹*Harvard Notes and Studies*, II, p. 213.

²*Revue des patois gallo-romans*, No. 14-15, p. 79.

unconscious impulse to make the retraction of the soft palate coincide with the opening of the glottis. But whether this impulse is the result of a habit of associating the movements of these two organs, or of some unknown principle of economy, or of a different and wholly unsuspected cause, I shall not venture even to guess.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

III.—FICTION AS A COLLEGE STUDY.

A good deal has been said, in recent years, about the importance of prose fiction. The vogue which the modern novel undoubtedly enjoys, its immediate and unquestionable influence over multitudes of readers, has contributed much to the prevalent impression as to the value of fiction, yet a more significant factor has been the increasing self-consciousness of fiction writers. They seem to feel a distinct assurance that at last they are going to get seats nearer the head of the table. Compared with the solemnity with which they discuss in public the responsibilities laid upon practitioners of their art, Harry Fielding's prefaces about his stern duty as a historian of human nature seem frivolous indeed. If this conviction of the greatness of the art were producing, or tending to produce, greater artists, one could scarcely quarrel with it, but among the day's distinguished names the great artists are unfortunately as few as ever. Wide-spread as is the present interest in fiction, it is at least debatable whether the English novel is much more intrinsically important, when compared with other types of literature, or even when tested by the proportion of fiction to the entire literary output, than it has been at a half dozen other periods in the last two hundred years.

Nevertheless, though the gain in quality and quantity of fiction in English is often exaggerated, it is true that the importance of the novel is indisputable, and this importance is not lessened by the fact that the novel did not win its place in literature yesterday or the day before. The study of fiction in preparatory schools and colleges is a recognition, though a somewhat tardy one, of the value of the art. It attests the significance of the mass of observations, thoughts and feelings which that art has recorded for us, and indirectly gives witness to the desire of teachers of English to bring their work

into relation with life, to make it bear upon the actual reading and thinking of their pupils. Wherever courses in fiction have been made a part of the college curriculum, they have attracted the interest of students, and to some extent the notice of outsiders. These courses are altogether likely to be maintained, and probably increased in number in the immediate future. At any rate, they have carried the experiment of teaching fiction sufficiently far to justify one or two observations upon its educational value.

In the first place, when contrasted with other types of imaginative literature, such as poetry and the drama, prose fiction has for many pupils the virtue of more readily stimulating the attention. That attention is the basis of any successful mental effort the common sense of teachers and the experimental psychologists agree in affirming. A chapter of first-rate fiction arrests a boy's attention at countless points; it provokes his interest, awakens his curiosity, challenges comparison with his own experiences, quickens his flagging intentness by the constant shifting of focus within the field of mental vision, and even while it is energizing his imagination, concentrates it. Poetry touches a boy at a higher level, it is true,—provided it touches him at all,—yet though fiction "finds" him upon a lower level, it has the advantage of finding him at more points. Its appeal is more universal; it captivates the youth who cares mainly for facts, as well as the youth whose heart is set on fancies. Poetry is a finer art than fiction, but for that very reason there are many undergraduates who cannot come under the domination of poetry. They have no natural ear for its music, and at twenty or twenty-two they find themselves or think themselves too old to learn the notes. But the scope of prose fiction is so vast, it is so varied in its different provinces, its potency to attract and to impress is so indubitable, that the undergraduate who makes no intellectual response to it, whose powers may not be developed by means of it, must be insufferably dull.

In the second place, the educational value of fiction consists not merely in its content, in the significance of the ideas which it conveys to the mind, but also to a considerable extent in the form in which those ideas are clothed. In the best fiction that form is singularly perfect. The study of expression as such, the cultivation of the feeling for style, is inseparably associated with a well selected course in fiction. The special treatises in narration and description, for instance, which many teachers of rhetoric are now using, draw their readiest and aptest illustrations from the novelists. The range of expression, the force and beauty with which ideas are uttered by the masters of English fiction, is unquestionable. It is hard to see how any college boy can come away from a close study of Thackeray or Hawthorne, without a new appreciation of form, a standard of workmanship; without learning once for all that imagination and passion may co-exist with a sense of proportion, with purity of feeling, with artistic reserve. These last are what we agree to call the classic qualities. We send boys to Greek and Latin literature in the hope that they will catch something of the secret of them, but if boys cannot or will not read Greek and Latin, they need not necessarily be unfamiliar with works composed in the classic spirit. In a time like ours, when everybody writes "well enough," and few try to write perfectly, it is no small thing that college students may be taught through fiction to perceive the presence of style, the stamp of distinction. That sound Latinist and accomplished musician, Henry Nettleship, wrote once to a friend a passage about Wagner which is not without its bearing upon literature. "Wagner tries to make music do what it cannot do without degrading itself—namely, paint out in very loud colours certain definite feelings as they arise before the composer. The older musicians seem to me to aim rather at suggesting feeling than at actually exhibiting it, as it were, in the flesh. I think much of Wagner would vitiate my taste, *but perhaps my head is too full of the older music to take in strains to which my nerves are not attuned.*" Professor

Nettleship may have been right or wrong about Wagner, but is there a better service which the teacher of fiction can render a pupil, than to make his head so full of the noble cadences of Scott and Thackeray, Eliot and Hawthorne, that there shall be no room there for what has been succinctly described as "the neurotic, the erotic, and the Tommyrotic," and all the other contemporary varieties of meretricious and ignoble art?

The methods to be followed in the college study of fiction depend naturally upon the size and proficiency of the classes, the extent to which the lecture system is adopted, the library facilities, the temperament and training of the individual teacher. At the same time there are certain general modes of instruction between which a choice must be made at the outset. For instance, the English novel may be treated historically. Its origins and the main tendencies of its development are not difficult to trace, and a course of lectures and required reading may thus be laid out without departing from the sequence of history. The advantages of following the historical method in studying the literature of a particular people are too obvious to be insisted upon, but after all, so far as fiction is concerned, this method is not without its drawbacks. Very few college libraries contain much material dating back of the middle of the eighteenth century, or representing more than a handful of novelists from that time to the time of Scott. Even were the material at hand, the temptation in dealing with minor fiction of a past generation is to content oneself with second-hand opinion, and it is precisely this indolent fashion of handing along a received opinion which used to bring the teaching of English literature into disrepute. A pupil must get the books into his hand—how often does that need to be said—if he is to receive much benefit from his professor's deliverances about them. Of course a boy who studies English fiction at all ought to know something of the lines of its progress in the past,—say as much as Professor Raleigh's little book on *The English Novel* will help him to acquire,—but whether anything more than such a general sketch as is there

attempted, can be successfully presented under ordinary classroom and library conditions, is doubtful. With advanced students and adequate library apparatus, investigation of the historical development of fiction will naturally take care of itself. ♦

Again, the direct criticism of contemporary fiction has been proved to be attractive and stimulating. Such a method of instruction takes pupils where they are, endeavors to make them clear as to their own preferences, traverses the immense field of latter-day fiction, and selects for analysis and judgment striking examples of this and that literary tendency. From the standpoint of pedagogy, much may be said for this method, which has its foundation in an interest already present, which requires little or no preparation on the student's part, and which puts the teacher on a level with his pupils, man to man, forcing him to see more truly and to express himself more clearly than they, upon books that have not yet won a permanent place in literature and consequently have not become a part of the professorial stock-in-trade. Nevertheless the method has its dangers. It may tempt the teacher to popularize, in the bad sense; to say cleverer things than the newspapers are saying about the novel which happens to be the latest "fad;" to recognize in his choice of current fiction the market valuation and thus to impress the market value standard upon the very young men who most need to be taught the fallibility of that standard. It certainly tempts the student to criticize,—that is, to perform the most delicate of mental operations,—before he is in possession of any canons of criticism; it tempts him to mistake literary gossip for literary culture. Furthermore, it does not follow because a young fellow likes to read *Trilby*—let us say—that the analysis of the essence of Trilbiness is the best task that can be assigned him. The English historian's famous sneer, upon the proposition to introduce courses in English literature at the universities, was that the study of Shelley would end in men being coached in "the Harriet problem." But the Harriet

problem is innocent and edifying material for the class-room, compared with the themes of some of the most widely-read English novels of the past five years. If these books are to be discussed at all, they should be discussed frankly, but the teacher's desk gains nothing in dignity by being turned into a clinic one day and a pulpit the next. If a man thinks he can teach literature, then, for his pupils' sake, as well as his own, he should stick to his trade. Finally, this emphasis upon contemporary fiction reinforces a tendency among undergraduates which needs correction rather than encouragement. These young fellows are so contemporaneous already as to be the despair of their friends. Most of them have about as much sense of perspective as a Sunday paper. Their memories scarcely reach beyond *Treasure Island*. It is therefore advisable for them to discover that good style did not begin with Stevenson, and that plot development is somewhat older than Conan Doyle. Fascinating as is the criticism of contemporary novels in the classroom, a course of fiction-study might nevertheless be arranged which should fulfil every reasonable requirement, and still meet the test which the late Dr. Shedd is said to have applied to his last volume of theology. "It's good," he is reported to have exclaimed earnestly; "it's good; there isn't a modern thing in it."

While every method has no doubt the defects of its qualities, it seems to me, as the result of more or less experiment, that the method least open to objection is that which, assuming that prose fiction is an art, devotes itself to the exposition of the principles of that art. It takes for granted that there is a "body of doctrine" concerning fiction, as there is concerning painting or architecture or music, and that the artistic principles involved are no more incapable of formulation than are the laws of the art of poetry, as expressed in treatises upon Poetics from Aristotle's day to our own. They are indeed largely the same principles, as might be expected in the case of two sister arts. A student cannot begin the study of prose fiction more profitably than by endeavoring to grasp the rela-

tions between this art and the art of narrative poetry. Quite aside from the task of tracing historically the process by which the prose romance grew out of the epic, there are rich fields for investigation in connection with such topics as the material common to the two arts, the qualities shared by the novelist and poet, and the similarity of much of their craftsmanship in the sphere of formal expression. This suggests a study of their differences in the selection of material, their varying attitude toward their material, and the diverging requirements of effective expression in the two media of prose and verse. Then the affiliations of fiction with the drama must be made clear, through a study of such questions as the general similarity in construction of the novel and the play, and the advantages and disadvantages of substituting the novelist's indirect methods of narration and description for the direct representation of action by means of the stage. Here the student may work out, in a comparatively new territory, the familiar principle of Lessing, and assure himself that the real field of the novelist is forever separated from that of the dramatist by the nature of the artistic media which the two men employ. No professor who has the yearly experience of teaching fiction to classes made up in part of men who have studied poetics and the drama and in part of men who have not, will be likely to undervalue such preliminary study. The student may well be asked, also, to estimate the bearing upon fiction of the modern scientific movement,—remembering Lanier's remark about the novel being the meeting-ground of poetry and science,—and endeavoring to ascertain whether upon the whole fiction has gained or lost by its contact with the scientific spirit. After such a clearing of the ground as has been suggested, it is natural to pass to a detailed study of the content of fiction, a study, that is, of character, plot, and setting, in themselves and as inter-related. Selecting for classroom material some novels that have stood the test of time, methods of character-delineation must be observed; stationary and developing characters compared; the relation of main and

subordinate characters noted. The nature of tragic and comic collisions must be analysed ; the infinitely varied ways of tangling and untangling the skein of plot reduced to some classification that can be grasped by the student. The circumstances or events enveloping the action of the story—whether it be set in some focal point of history or merely keyed to a quiet landscape,—must be accurately perceived. Setting and plot and character, whether analysed separately or grasped in their artistic relations to one another, must further be discussed in connection with the personality of the fiction writer. Pupils should be taught to look for the mark of personality, not in gossip about a novelist's hour of rising and favorite breakfast and favorite books, but rather in connection with the creative processes upon which the stamp of personality is really set. The pupil must be asked to hunt realism and romanticism to their lair in the mind of the artist. He must ask himself what is actually meant by those glib catch-words of criticism—those baffling pairs of words "real and ideal," "fact and truth," "individual and type," "nature and art." Finally he must study the way in which differences in the nature of material and differences in personality have resulted in the leading forms of fiction, and how these forms are capable of infinite modification, so that there is no end to possible investigation of matters of technic and style.

After some such equipment as I have briefly indicated, the student may profitably pass to the criticism of contemporary authors, if he pleases, or to some phase of the history of the novel. I should not wish to depreciate either of those methods of study, but nevertheless it seems to me that the most important thing to be learned about fiction at the outset is the knowledge of what fiction normally is ; a sense of what it can do and what it cannot do ; a recognition of the fact that in the most insignificant short story may be seen the play of laws as old as art itself ; that Aristotle and Lessing, in short, wrote with one eye on Kipling and Hardy. It is true that there is in some quarters a suspicion of the professor of *belles*

lettres, with his academic rule and line, and his reverence for Aristotle and the unities. But in the present stage of college instruction in fiction it is better to err on the side of formalism than of anarchy, better to be a doctrinaire than to set up idols of the market-place.

I have endeavored to point out the existence of a "body of doctrine" concerning fiction. To formulate the group of facts and laws which constitutes this "body of doctrine," and to impress it upon a college class, is a task worthy of a teacher's best efforts. For the vast fiction-reading public into which these classes are so soon to merge is sceptical about the very existence of standards of judgment. "It is not that there is so little taste nowadays," said someone the other day, "there is so much taste; most of it bad." Nevertheless this lawless and inconstant public, craving excitement at any price, journalized daily, neither knowing nor caring what should be the real aim and scope of the novel, has the casting vote, after all, upon great books and little books alike. From its ultimate verdict there is no appeal. It is therefore no small service to literature that the colleges perform, when they send into this public, to serve as leaven, men who know good work from bad, and who know why they know it.

BLISS PERRY.

IV.—THE PHONOLOGY OF THE SPANISH DIALECT OF MEXICO CITY.

INTRODUCTION.

The material for the present study was collected during a residence of several months in Mexico City, and the facts stated are the result of personal observation of the idiom spoken by the lower classes. In some cases use is made of words and expressions found in printed material, but all such forms have been subjected to a careful comparison with the spoken language, before being accepted as trustworthy.

The language under consideration affords an interesting example of speech-mixture: we have in it a combination of the various dialects of Spain, each of which has undergone a still further development since its separation from the mother province. Furthermore, there is a marked French and English influence, especially in regard to the vocabulary. In addition to the elements mentioned, there is the original language of Mexico, which has given (and still continues to give) a strong coloring to the Spanish of the Republic.

In the present study an attempt has been made to show from what individual countries and provinces the Mexican Spanish dialect has drawn its material, and to what extent this material has been modified since its introduction into the language. In an historical study of the dialects of France, Italy or Spain, we naturally turn to Latin as a starting point; Mexican Spanish, on the other hand, has a beginning only at the time of the Spanish Conquest. The language of Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century will therefore be taken as a starting point, rather than the Latin.

The amount of dialect literature in Mexico is small. A few poets have made use of the popular speech, and the work of this class which has attained the greatest prominence is *La Musa Callejera*, by Guillermo Prieto. There are, however, quite a number of novels descriptive of life among the lower classes, and consequently containing many words and expressions valuable for a study of the dialect. Two of these novels call for special mention: *Los Bandidos del Rio Frio* and *Periquillo Sarniento*. The latter is one of the best known books in Mexico, and is often referred to as 'the Mexican Don Quixote.' These works contain vocabularies of words not found in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.

In addition to poetry and novels, there are several weekly newspapers written in the language of the people and published in Mexico City.¹ These periodicals circulate exclusively among the people whose language they profess to represent, though in reality the peculiarities of the actual speech are far from being faithfully represented in the printed pages. Another fact which lessens their value for dialect work is that they all have a very short lease of life, and the editor of each new attempt naturally repeats the mistakes of transcription committed by his predecessor.

To the sources of dialect material, enumerated above, must be added a short article by F. Semeleder on "Das Spanische der Mexicaner."² The author confines his remarks to the 'consonants,' and the value of his observations is greatly lessened by the fact that the study is not limited to some more definite territory, for in various parts of the Republic we find local peculiarities which are by no means 'mexicanisch.'

In regard to the Indian or Nahuatl element in Spanish, two works are of special importance. The first in point of date is by Eufemio Mendoza, entitled, *Apuntes para un Catálogo razonado de las Palabras Mexicanas introducidas al Castellano*.³ This, as the title implies, is a collection of Indian

¹ Bibliog., No. 95.

² Bibliog., No. 88.

³ Bibliog., No. 77.

words "usadas en el Castellano tal como se habla en Mexico," and includes a large number of geographical names which owe their origin to the Nahuatl. The second treatise referred to above, is the *Glosario de Voces Castellanas derivadas del Idioma Nahuatl*,¹ by Jesus Sanchez. Though not so extensive as the former treatise, this is much more valuable for our present study, since Dr. Sanchez, at the request of the writer, has kindly examined his *Glosario* for the purpose of determining whether all the words are in actual use in Mexico City; the result of his investigation is affirmative, "sin exceptuar una sola."

Up to the present time no attempt has been made to establish the laws which govern the phonetic changes in words of Indian origin on their passage into Spanish. In the present study the subject is treated as a separate chapter, since many of the laws governing the introduction of these elements are distinct from those which obtain for words of Romance origin.

The following facts concerning the colonization of Mexico are important. The period of Spanish influence commenced with the landing of Cortés in 1519, and the City of Mexico was captured two years later. From this time until 1821 the country was a province of Spain; from 1821 to the present day Mexico has been an independent Republic, if we except the period from 1864 to 1867, during which Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, ruled as Emperor, having been placed upon the throne by the influence of the French.

In the early days the officials in Spain kept a careful record of all persons who were permitted to emigrate to Mexico; at one time the would-be colonist was required to have a special permit from the King; later, he had to bring certificates from his native district. It is to be regretted that these records have not yet been brought together in accessible form. Hubert

¹ Bibliog., No. 86.

Howe Bancroft, in speaking of the period of colonization, remarks: "Those who in the early days under Cortés and subsequent leaders assisted in subduing the country, and thereby retired to enjoy the reward of their toil on some *encomienda*, may be regarded as the founders of the leading creole aristocracy—military adventurers though they were—and that of all grades, from *hidalgo* to artisan, sailor and even criminal, and drawn chiefly from Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia. In later days the in-wanderers came principally from Vizcaya, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Santander mountains."¹

The laws against foreigners were severe, so that only a few succeeded in gaining admission to the country. This fact is of importance in one respect; namely, when we find in Mexico a linguistic phenomenon that is common to both Portugal and Galicia, we can safely say that if it came into Mexico during the early stages of colonization, it is of Galician origin and did not come directly from Portugal. The necessity for this discrimination will be more apparent, if we bear in mind that the language of Galicia is, strictly speaking, a Portuguese dialect, though the province itself is a part of Spain. Since the occupation of Mexico by the French, the influx of foreigners has steadily increased, and to-day there is in the Republic a number of French, English, American and German citizens. These represent a respectable class who have engaged in commercial enterprises, and whose language has naturally introduced a number of new words into the dialect.

A word in conclusion in regard to the other Spanish American countries. Within the last two decades, much has been written on idiom of the various Spanish-speaking portions of our Continent, so that at the present day we know *something* about the language of a large majority of the American Republics. The works on this subject, which have been used in the preparation of this monograph, are grouped together in a separate bibliography. Two of these call for

¹*History of Mexico*, Vol. III, pp. 743-744.

special mention; namely, that of R. J. Cuervo on the popular speech of Bogotá, and that of Rudolf Lenz on the language of Chile. The two productions represent the high-water mark in the study of American Spanish.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION.

ɛ	=	e	in Castilian	preceptor.
ɛ	=	e	"	preceptor.
o	=	o	"	bolero.
o	=	o	"	orden.
b	=	b	"	haber.
ð	=	d	"	hablado.
ʰ	=	h	German	haben.
k	=	c	Castilian	caro.
k'	=		palatalized	k.
λ	=	gl	in Italian	gli.
ŋ	=	ng	in German	finger.
r	=		voiceless	r.
s	=	s	in French	maison.
ʃ	=	ch	in	changer.
ɸ	=	c	Castilian	hacer.
w	=	w	English	was.
χ	=	j	Castilian	jovén.
y	=	y	"	ya.
ʒ	=	g	French	changer.

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CHAPTER I.

EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF WORDS.

§ 1. *Accent.*

As a general rule, the position of the tonic accent is the same in Mexican as in Castilian; there are, however, a few special cases which call for comment.

In the first place, in regard to the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, and *au*. The rule of accentuation in Popular Latin was, that of two contiguous vowels, the more sonorous receives the accent.¹ In the dialects we find a re-working of this accent law in regard to vowels which were not contiguous in Latin, but have been brought together by the fall of an intermediate consonant. In Castilian, such words have retained the accent on the vowel which was tonic in Latin, and consequently we have a falling diphthong only when the first vowel of the group corresponds to the Latin tonic vowel. For example *DONÁRIUM* > *donáire*, *PROBÁTIS* > *probáis*. On the other hand *PAGÉNSEM* > *páts*, *AUDÍTUM* > *óido*.

In Mexico we find a re-working of the old accent-law in the class of Castilian words last mentioned, and the stress is moved back to the preceding vowel which is the more sonorous. Hence, we have such words as *óido* (Cast. *óido*), *páis* (Cast. *país*), *bául* (Cast. *baúl*); also *por ái* for *por ahi*, *ái* for *de ahí*. In Spanish America this law has been established for Bogotá² and Chile,³ and Lenz remarks in regard to the phenomenon: "Aus allen spanischen ländern Südamerikas liegen mir bewiese vor, dass aussprachen wie *páis*, *léido*, *bául*, *óido*, nicht nur im niederen volke, sondern auch unter den gebildeten gebräuchlich sind."⁴ In Mexico, however, this change of accent has not taken place in the speech of the educated classes.

¹*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, p. 528; *Grundriss*, p. 360, § 11.

²*Leng. Bogot.*, § 92 et seq.

³*Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 287.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 288.

In *dáka* < DA ACÁ, we have a case of mistaken etymology where the change of accent is due to a supposed infinitive *dacar* which would regularly form an imperative *dáca*. This imperative form is of frequent use in Spain, and Mugica mentions it particularly in connection with the dialect of Santander.¹ There can be no doubt that the change is due to a supposed infinitive *dacar*, since *deque* as an imperative is used by Lope de Vega :

“ Deque presto, ó mataréla.”

(*Los locos de Valencia*, acto I, esc. III.)²

Furthermore, in Quito we find a redundant form *dáca acá*.³

§ 2. *Dissimulation.*

When of two consecutive syllables of a word both contain the vowel *i*, the vowel of the first syllable (if atonic) is changed to *e* by dissimulation : VISITAR > *ḡesitar*, PRINCIPAL > *preṇsipa*, TRINIDAD > *Treṇidá*, INVITO > *enbító*, ESCRIBIR > *escrebir*, MEDICINA > *mēḡesina*.

Dissimulation of *e-e* to *e-i* occurs in Old Spanish,⁴ and the law is particularly striking in the North Spanish provinces of Vizcaya⁵ and Aragon.⁶

§ 3. *Metathesis.*

Metathesis does not appear to be so frequent in Mexican as it is in the other dialects of Spain and America. The cases noted are POBRE > *proḡe*, PERMISO > *preṁiso*, GABRIEL > *Grabiḡl*, NADIE > *náiḡen*, CIUDAD > *suiḡá*.

Of the above forms *probe* occurs in Santander, Vizcaya and Aragon ;⁷ *premis* and *Graviel* in Vizcaya.⁸ Hence, owing to

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 1.

²*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 131.

³*Wien. Akad.*, Vol. cv, p. 145.

⁴*Grundriss*, I, p. 700, § 33.

⁵*Dial. Cast.*, p. 2.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 43 and 76.

⁸*Dial. Cast.*, p. 43. Schuchardt mentions the form *Grabi* as current in Popular Latin: *Volkalismus*, III, 5; cf. *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 449.

the rare occurrence of Metathesis in Mexico, we may suppose these words to have been introduced from North Spain.

The form *suidá* is used even by the educated classes of Mexico, and is also occasionally heard in Chile and Peru.¹

Naide is the popular Spanish form, and Cuervo states that it is found in the writings of Santa Teresa, who died in 1582.² The word occurs, however, as early as 1514 in the writings of Lucas Fernandez.³

§ 4. *Prosthesis.*

Only a few cases of prosthesis occur: *FIGURARSE* > *afigurarse*, *FUSILAR* > *afusilar*,⁴ *SEGUN* > *asigun*.

In Mexico we see preserved the intensive prefix *re-* which may be further strengthened to *re-te-*: *reyeno* (*REILENO*), *regordo*, *rereyeno*, *relegordo*. The prefix *rete-* occurs also in Bogotá.⁵

§ 5. *Epenthesis.*

In addition to the particle *-te* of *rete*, mentioned above, the following cases of epenthesis occur: *áigre*⁶ (*AIRE*), *áiga* (*HAYA*), *munchō*⁷ (*MUCHO*), *ansina* (*ASI*), *lamber*⁸ (*LAMER*).

For explanation of the *g* in *áigre*, cf. remarks on palatals, § 52; *áiga* is by analogy to forms like *traiga*, *caiga*, etc.; the *g* occurs in all forms of the Present Subjunctive of *haber*; *munchō* and *ansina*⁹ represent the preservation of Old Spanish and popular forms of general occurrence in Spain;¹⁰ *lamber* represents the regular Galician form which has preserved the original Latin *b*.¹¹

¹*Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 293.

²*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 449, note 3. For the final *n* in the Mexican form, cf. § 68.

³Cf. *Edicion of Span. Acad.*, p. 141.

⁴Gagini states that this word is in use in Costa Rica, and "es corriente entre el vulgo de España y de América." *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 23.

⁵*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 108.

⁶Also in Costa Rica, cf. *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 30.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁹See § 67.

¹⁰Gagini mentions *ansina* as occurring in Asturias, and *asina* in Galicia. *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 68.

¹¹*Gram. Gal.*, pp. 34, 48 and 118, and *Diccionario Gallego*, p. 177.

§ 6. *Epithesis.*

An *s* is added to the second person singular of all preterit forms: 'huites (FUISTE), mandates (MANDASTE), etc. Cafés (plural of café) forms a double plural kafeses. Other cases of Epithesis are NADIE > náideñ, ASI > ansina, RED > rēðe.

§ 7. *Aphesis.*

The most common case of apheresis is the dropping of initial atonic *a* in verbs of more than two syllables: ATRASADO > trasáu, APETECER > peṭeṣeṛ, ARRASTRAR > rastrar, ABRANCAR > ranḱar, AHOGAR > oḡar, also AHORA > ora, HAMACA > maka.

Initial atonic *u* of *Usted* (USTED) always falls when preceded by a word ending in *a*: ¿ USTED > asté, MANDA USTED? > mandasté?

Other cases of the fall of initial vowels are HELADOS > laṣ, ILUSTRE > lustré, OCOTE > koṭe.

Initial *d* does not occur in *¿ donde* (DONDE) and *¿ despacio* (DESPACIO).

Initial syllable falls in HERMANO > mano,¹ CONVERSAR > ḱersar, CONVERSACION > ḱersasiñ, BALASTRE > lastré, ESTÁ > tá,² ESTÁN > tan, etc., ESTANQUE > tanḱe.

The forms *ta* (ESTÁ), *tan* (ESTAN), etc., are used only when the verb is followed by a predicate; for example, *ta wēñō* (ESTÁ BUENO), but *ái* (e)stá (¿ AHÍ ESTÁ). The reason for this is that when a predicate follows, the verb is in an unaccented position in the stress group, and consequently, the unaccented initial syllable falls more readily; compare in French, Lat. ELLAS > tonic *elles*, atonic *les*. In Curaçoa, only the contracted forms *ta*, *tan*, etc., exist.³

¹ Cf. *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 431; *El Júcaro*, p. 160.

² Cf. *Dentals*, § 46.

³ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 156.

§ 8. *Syncope.*

The most common case of syncope is the fall of the *d* between *a-a* and *a-o*: CURADO > *kurao* > *kuráu*, PELADO > *pelao* > *peláu*,¹ NADA > *naa* > *na*. Medial *r* falls in PARA > *paa* > *pa*. Other examples of syncope are AUNQUE > *anké*, ESTEARINA > *ésterina*.

§ 9. *Apocope.*

The two most important cases of apocope are the fall of the final *s* before a word beginning with *l*, *r* or a sibilant, and the universal fall of the final *d*: DOS REALES > *dó riales*, MAS RICO > *ma riko*, MAS LARGO > *ma largo*, DOS CIENTOS > *dó siéntos*, also BUENAS NOCHES > *wéna noches*; VERDAD > *berdá*, CIUDAD > *suiḏá*, USTED > *usté*.

In regard to the fall of a final vowel before a word beginning with a vowel, no fixed rule can be given, since custom varies with the individual, and the kinds of conversation engaged in. In rapid or excited discourse elision is naturally more frequent than in careful conversation.

Final *a* generally falls before initial *a* of a following word, and final *e* falls before initial *e* of following word: ESTA AMANTE > *estamante*, ESTE ERA > *éstera*, etc.

CHAPTER II.

TONIC VOWELS.

§ 10. *Tonic a.*

Tonic *a*, free or checked, generally retains the Castilian pronunciation: *maló*, *paló*, *alto*, *año*, etc.

When tonic *a* is followed by the group of consonants *ct*, the *o* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* which forms a falling

¹Term applied to the lowest class of citizens.

diphthong with *a*; for example, ACTO > *áito*, CARÁCTER > *karáit̃er*, EXACTO > *esáito*, etc. The development is the same as that which takes place in Lat. *factum* > Fr. *fait*. A more detailed discussion of this change and the extent of its occurrence in the Spanish dialects, will be found under Palatals.

In *trux̃e* for Cast. *traje*, we have a preservation of the Old Span. and popular form. The perfect *trux̃e* probably goes back to an analogous *ui*-perfect in Latin, that is, *traxui* instead of *traxi*; hence, we have the same stages of development as in *habui* > *haubi* > *hobe* > *hube*. Indeed, the intermediate stage *troje* is found in Old Span.¹

Cuasi (*casi*), though seldom used, is nevertheless a good classic Spanish form.

§ 11. Tonic *e*.

Tonic *e* has retained the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *p̃el̃o*, *s̃é*, *m̃esa*, *ap̃arẽs̃e* (APARECE), etc.

§ 12. Tonic *e*.

Tonic *e* has generally retained the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *kũenta*, *el̃*, *k̃om̃er̃*.

In words of Indian origin, where tonic *e* has become final through the fall of a following consonant, the *e* has retained its open sound; for example, *Popocat̃up̃el̃* > *Pop̃ocat̃ap̃é*. The same is true of English *beefsteak*, which, passing through a stage *bist̃ek*, becomes *bist̃é*.

Lenz states that it is a general rule in Chile to pronounce close *e* (̃e) after palatals; for example: *m̃ux̃er̃*, *χ̃ente*.² This is not the case in Mexico.

When tonic *e* is followed by the group of consonants *ct*, the *e* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i*; the *e* becomes *̃e* and forms a falling diphthong with the following *i*: DEFECTO >

¹Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, p. 344; *Zts.*, IX, p. 259.

²*Phon. Stud.*, IV, p. 276.

defeito, RESPECTO > *respêito*, RECTO > *rêito*, etc. The epenthetic *i* has the same explanation as that developed after *a* in the same position.

ɛ > *i* in *tráir*, *káir* which correspond to Castilian TRAER, CAER. Here we have in the first place a change of accent to the more sonorous vowel,¹ followed by a wearing away of the posttonic ɛ to *i* in the falling diphthong; thus, *traɛr* > *tráɛr* > *tráir*, *caɛr* > *káɛr* > *káir*. A peculiarity of Chile is that while atonic *ae* > *ai*, tonic *ae* (i. e. *æe*) remains unchanged; hence we find *trairé*, *trairá*, but *tráe*, *tráen*.²

§ 13. Tonic *i*.

Tonic *i* retains the Castilian pronunciation of close *i*: *primo*, *grilo*, *mil*, etc.

Mesmo for Castilian MISMO shows a regularly developed *e*, which is retained in the Old Span. *mesmo*.³ In Spain this form has been noted for Andalusia and Asturia,⁴ and in America it is found in Guatemala⁵ and the Argentine Republic.⁶

§ 14. Tonic *o*.

Tonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *sola*, *matrimonio* (MATRIMONIO), *tempo*, etc.

§ 15. Tonic *o*.

Tonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *orden*, *oi* (HOY), etc.

In *pos* (Cast. PUES) we have a preservation of the Old Span. form which shows development in atonic position in the stress-group. Compare the Old French doublets *oar* and *quer*. The form *pos* occurs in Andalusia, Asturia⁷ and San-

¹ For change of accent, cf. § 1.

² *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 286.

³ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 84.

⁶ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 56.

⁷ *Zts.*, V, p. 304.

tander. *Pus*, which is found in Bogotá and occasionally in Andalucía and Santander,¹ is explained by Schuchardt as a further development of *pues*.²

§ 16. Tonic *u*.

Tonic *u* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *puro*, *ḡetubo*, *chulo*, etc.

§ 17. Tonic *ie*.

In the stem-accented forms of *querer* there is non-diphthongization of Latin *q*, hence we have such forms as *kero*, *kqes*, *kqē*, *kqra*, etc. The same development of *querer* is characteristic of Galicia,³ which fact may lead us to suppose that the Mexican forms are of Galician origin.

When the diphthong *ie* is preceded by *n*, the *i* of the diphthong is absorbed by the nasal which in turn becomes *ñ*; for example, NIEVE > *ñeβē*, NIETO > *ñeto*, etc.

ie > *i* in DIEZ when used in combination with other numerals; for example, DIEZ Y OCHO > *disiqcho*, DIEZ MIL PESOS > *dis-mil pēps*. The same reduction of *ie* to *i* takes place in Chile, and here the phenomenon is not confined to *diez* used in combination with other words, nor even to *diez* used alone; other examples are MIEDO > *mio*, *quien* > *kin*. Lenz, in considering this change of *ie* to *i* in Chile, remarks: "Nicht selten tritt deutliche neigung hervor, bei *ie* den akzent zu verschieben, ohne dass es mir bisher gelungen wäre, bestimmte bedingungen dafür zu finden."⁴ We must necessarily suppose a change of accent from *ie* to *ie* before the reduction of the diphthong took place. In fact Lenz adds: "Während im allgemeinen die betonung des span. *ie*, *uē* fest zu stehen scheint, erinnere ich mich, einen nordspanier, er war, glaube ich, aus Zaragoza, gehört zu haben, der immer *cúerpo*, *tiempo*, *siempre*, *tiene*, etc., betonte."⁵ It is interesting to note in connection with Lenz's

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 11.

²*Zus.*, v, p. 304.

³*Gram. Gal.*, p. 107.

⁴*Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 292.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 293, note.

location of the phenomenon, that the reduction of *ie* to *i* and *ue* to *u* was of frequent occurrence in the Old Span. province of Leon.¹ In Buenos Ayres, we find an occasional reduction of *ue* to *u*, but no cases where *ie* becomes *i*.²

§ 18. Tonic *ue*.

Tonic *ue* > *e* in the stem-accented forms of the verb *probar*; for example, PRUEBO > *prebo*, PRUEBA > *preba*, PRUEBEN > *preben*, etc. The reduction in the stem-accented forms of this verb has been noted also for Asturias³ and Porto Rico.⁴

This change of *ue* to *e* is physiological. The *u* of the diphthong is semi-consonantal, and consequently has a more marked labial element than pure vocalic *u*; the preceding consonantal combination is labial (p) + dental (r), and as these two consonants must be pronounced with a single expiratory current, the tongue must necessarily anticipate the *r*-position while the lips are in the *p*-position; the *e* of the diphthong *ue* is much nearer the *r*-position than is the labial *u*, hence *u* falls and we have *pre* instead of *prue*. In other words, by the law of least action, labial (p) + dental (r) + labial (u) + approximate dental position (e), is reduced to labial (p) + dental (r) + dental (e). Furthermore, in Mexico, analogy to the stem-accented forms has affected all other parts of the verb, hence we find *prebar*, *prebamp*, *prebau* (PREBADO), etc.

The change of *ue* to *e* is interesting in connection with Modern Spanish *frente* < Lat. *frōntem*. The Spanish form should be *fruenta* which actually exists in the older language. The change from *fruenta* to *frente* is due to the law which changes *prueba* to *preba* in Mexico. Compare in this connection the following remark of Meyer-Lübke's: "En Espagnol *ue* est réduit à *e*, sans que la loi de cette réduction ait encore pu être formulée."⁵

¹ Gessner, *Das Leonische*, pp. 23, 24.

² *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 55.

³ Rato y Hevia, *Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 101.

⁴ *El Jibaro*, p. 91.

⁵ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 202.

CHAPTER III.

ATONIC VOWELS.

§ 19. *Atonic a.*

Pretonic *a* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *amar*, *tirador*, *ensayo*, etc.

When pretonic *a* is followed by the palatal groups *ct* or *co*,¹ the *o* (= *k*) falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* which forms a falling diphthong with the *a*: FACTURA > *faiúra*, ACTOR > *aiúr*, acción > *aiisún*, etc. The development is the same as that of tonic *a* + *ct*.

For the fall of initial pretonic *a* in *ogar*, *maka*, etc., cf. 'Apheresis,' § 7.

Posttonic *a* remains as in Castilian; for example, *mala*, *trata*, *sima*, etc. The only exception noted is *siñega* (< CIENAGA) and Gagini states: "Pronúnciase así en casi toda la América Española la palabra castellana *ciénaga*, corrompida por influencia de la *e* accentuada sobre la sílaba siguiente."²

§ 20. *Atonic e.*

Pretonic *e* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *mesonero*, *pelau*s (PELADOS), *felisitar*, etc.

Pretonic *e*, followed by *a*, *o* or *u*, regularly becomes *i*. This change takes place whether the following vowel is tonic or atonic; also when *e* is final before a word beginning with *a*, *o* or *u*: REAL > *rial*, MEAR > *miar*; PEON > *pion*, LEONORA > *Liönora*; DEUDA > *ðiudá*; also DE AQUEL > *ðiakəl*, DE OTRO > *diötro*, DE HULE > *ðiulə*. The change of *e* to *i* before *a*, *o* is of general occurrence in Spain and America; the raising of *e* to *i* before *u* is apparently characteristic of Mexico,

¹*cc* occurs only before *e* or *i*, and among the educated classes of Mexico is pronounced *ks*.

²*Prov. de C. R.*, p. 133.

though a more careful study of the dialects will doubtless reveal its occurrence elsewhere, both in Spain and America. At all events the change of *e* to *i* is a natural one. The *e* before *a*, *o*, *u* is in hiatus, and the development into *i* was common in Old French and in certain pure Castilian words of "mi-savant" origin, as *criar* < *creare*.¹

Pretonic *ɛ* > *i* in *siñor* (< SENOR). Schuchardt, in considering the occurrence in Andalusia of such forms as *ispertá*, *piscueso*, *asibuche*, etc., remarks: "Wie *i* für unbetontes *e* als Schwächung aufzufassen, weiss ich nicht."²

Meyer-Lübke mentions a similar inexplicable change of *e* to *i* in Asturia, Bogotá and Buenos Ayres, and for Old Spanish he cites examples from the *Poema de Alexandro* and the *Fuero Juzgo*.³ The examples cited by Mugica for Santander admit of no classification, yet the author attributes them all to the influence of the Leon dialect.⁴ Thus it is evident that no satisfactory explanation can be offered until a more careful study has been made of the Spanish dialects.

§ 21. Atonic *ɛ*.

Pretonic *ɛ* generally retains the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *esposa*, *destino*, etc.

When pretonic *ɛ* is followed by the palatal groups *et* or *co*, the *e* falls, leaving behind an epenthetic *i*. The *ɛ* at the same time becomes *ɛ̃* and forms a falling diphthong with the *i*:⁵ RECTITUD > *rɛ̃ititú*, RECTOR > *rɛ̃lɛ̃r*, LECCION > *lɛ̃isɛ̃n*, etc.

Posttonic *ɛ* generally retains the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *komen*, *Fernandɛs*, etc.

Verbs of the second conjugation, whose stem ends in *a*, regularly change the tonic accent to the stem vowel,² and the infinitive ending from *er* to *ir*: CAER > *káir*, TRAER > *tráir*. The same change of *ɛ* to *i* takes place in all other forms of

¹Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 321.

²Zu., v, p. 314.

³Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, pp. 297-8.

⁴Dial. Cast., p. 10.

⁵For territory covered by the phenomenon, cf. § 56.

⁶Cf. § 1.

these verbs where the *e* does not bear the tonic accent; for example, *CÁE* > *kái*, *TRÁEN* > *tráin*, *TRAERÁ* > *trairá*, etc. The development of *ɛ* to *i* in the infinitive occurs only in Mexico; the change of *ae* to *ái* in the stem-accented forms is found also in Asturia, Andalucía,¹ Galicia,² Vizcaya,³ Buenos Ayres⁴ and Chile.⁵ Thus it is evident that the phenomenon is not confined to any definite locality, either of Spain or America. The change of *ae* to *ái* represents a natural wearing-away of unaccented *e* in a falling diphthong, and is the same phenomenon that occurs in the second person plural of Castilian verbs of the first conjugation; for example, *amátis* > *amádes* > *amáes* > *amais*.

Final atonic *e* has the open sound: *granðɛ*, *ɛstɛ*, *ɛrrɛ*, etc. Araujo, in his study of Castilian pronunciation, transcribes it as close *ɛ*.

rɛðɛ (Castilian RED) doubtless shows the preservation of a North Spanish form since the only provinces where *rede* seems to exist are Asturia⁶ and Galicia.⁷

§ 22. Atonic *i*.

Pretonic *i* preserves the Castilian pronunciation: *miraɪ*, *tinaxa*, *kariðá*, etc.

Pretonic *i* > *e*, by dissimulation, in words which have *i* occurring in two immediately following syllables. The change takes place whether the second *i* is tonic or atonic: *DIVINO* > *ðɛðino*, *MEDICINA* > *mɛðɛsina*, *VISITAR* > *ɸɛsitaɪ*, etc. Such a change took place in some cases in the Old Spanish period, for we find in the earliest monuments such forms as *devino*, *esorebir*, etc.

Posttonic *i* preserves the Castilian pronunciation: *fásil* (FACIL), *rápiðɔ*, etc.

¹*Zts.*, v, 313.

²*Gram. Gal.*, p. 247.

³*Dial. Cast.*, p. 46.

⁴*Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 54.

⁵*Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 286.

⁶*Palabras y Frases Bables*, p. 105.

⁷*Dicc. Gal.*, p. 268.

When *ia*, *io* are preceded by *n*, the *i* is absorbed by the *n*, which in turn becomes *ñ*: ANTONIA > *Antoña*, MATRIMONIO > *matrimoño*, etc.

náiðen (NADIE) shows attraction.

suiða (CIUDAD) shows metathesis. Schuchardt places a form *suida* as the basis of Andalusian *suidia*.

§ 23. Atonic *o*.

Pretonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *molina*, *poner*, *oñispo*, etc.

In the words *poema* and *poeta* the pretonic *o* > *u*: *puema*, *pueta*. The *o* in these cases is in hiatus before tonic *e*, and is naturally raised from *o* to *u*. A similar change takes place in the Philippine Islands in *nuay* for Castilian NO HAY.¹

Posttonic *o* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *mucho*, *bonito*, *trabajo*, etc.

When posttonic *o* is contiguous to tonic *a* through fall of medial *d*, the resulting *áo* becomes *áu* by the natural wearing-away of *o* in a falling diphthong; for example, PELADO > *peláo* > *peláu*, CURADO > *kuráo* > *kuráu*, etc. The same phenomenon occurs in Chile.² An exception to this in Mexico is HELADOS > *laps*, a word used by the venders of 'water ices.' The *ao* does not become *áu* in this word, for, being a street-cry, both elements are distinctly pronounced with a level stress.

§ 24. Atonic *o*.

Pretonic *o* remains as in Castilian; for example, *ordinario*, *continuo*, *embresito*.

Posttonic *o* does not occur in Mexican Spanish.

§ 25. Atonic *u*.

Pretonic and posttonic *u* remain as in Castilian; for example, *lugar*, *chulo*, *disípulo*, etc.

¹ Blumentritt, *Vocabular*, s. v.

² *Phon. Stud.*, vi, pp. 288-9.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSONANTS.

LABIALS.

§ 26. *Pronunciation.*

The *b* and *v* in Mexican, as in Castilian, have the sound of bi-labial fricative and are not distinguishable one from the other. Marroquin, in the following passage, extends this bi-labial pronunciation to the whole of Spanish America: "No damos regla alguna que se refiera al origen latino de las voces, ni admitimos como algunos autores, que la pronunciacion puede servir de norma para distinguir y emplear oportunamente la *c*, la *s*, la *z*, la *b* y la *v* pues nadie ignora que *en la America Española es uno mismo sonido que se da á las tres primeras y uno tambien que se da á las dos ultimas.*"¹ An exception must, however, be made to the above statement in the case of Cuba,² the Curacao islands³ and Costa Rica,⁴ where *b* has in all cases supplanted *v* and is a bi-labial fricative in character.

Semeleder, in speaking of the Mexican pronunciation, remarks: "Eine andere Quelle von Fehlern in die Rechtschreibung ist die besonders weiche Aussprache von B welche wie V (W) klingt; so wird Bazo (braun, die Milz) zu Vaso (Glas oder Gefässe)." ⁵

The *p* and *f* have retained the Castilian pronunciation.

§ 27. *Initial b, v.*

Initial *b* and *v* before *ue* have disappeared in pronunciation: BUENO > *wɛno*, BUEY > *wɛy*, VUELA > *wɛla*, VUELTA > *wɛlta*, etc. The same fall of *b, v* is found in Chile.⁶ Remembering

¹ *Tratados de Ortología*, p. VII.

² *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 150.

³ *Wissensch. Ver.*, I, p. 15.

⁴ *Wortschp.*, p. 112.

⁵ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 512.

⁶ *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 292.

that *ue* is a rising diphthong (*ue*), and that the *u* is consequently semi-consonantal (*u*), the disappearance of initial *b* (*v*) is a natural phenomenon, due to assimilation of the *b* to the following *u*. The only difference between *b* and *u* is that the lips are slightly opened for the latter, while the friction is more marked for the former; hence, anticipation of the *u*-sound changes the *b* from a pure bi-labial fricative consonant to a semi-vowel *u*, and *bueno* > *uueno* > *weno*. This change of *b* to *u* is exactly the same as that which takes place in Old French for Latin words ending in *-rum* before a word beginning with a vowel; for example, *clavum* + *vok.* > *clayv* > *clou*. Here the *u* of *-rum* is made semi-consonantal by the presence of the initial vowel of the following word; the *u* then exerts an assimilating influence upon the preceding *v* which was bi-labial in Latin.¹

Another development which is characteristic of the rural districts, rather than of Mexico City, is the change of initial *bue* (*vue*) to *güe*; for example, *BUENO* > *güeno*, *BUÉY* > *güey*, *VUELTO* > *güello*, etc. The phenomenon is wide-spread among the lower classes of Spain;² the extent of its occurrence in America is not yet determined, but it is known to exist in Buenos Ayres,³ Bogotá,⁴ Costa Rica⁵ and the rural districts of Uruguay and the Argentine Republic.⁶

This *güe* is simply a further development of *we* mentioned above; namely, the initial *w* underwent exactly the same change as Gothic and Arabic *w* which became *gu* in Spanish. Goldschmidt remarks on this subject: "Lat. *v*- in einer anzahl von worten zu *gu* geworden ist, und zwar meist in solchen, denen ein ähnliches germ. wort zur seite steht, zb. *vastare* > *guastar*, *vulpes* > *golpe* (cf. germ. *wastan wulfs*) und so könnte man wohl an 'eine deutsche schattierung rom. worte' glauben. Aber man bedenke, dass sich dieser wandel auch in worten findet, wo kein germ. einfluss vorliegen kann, und dass er

¹ *Zts.*, VIII, pp. 382-384.

² *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 58.

³ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 363.

⁴ *Grundriss*, I, p. 702.

⁵ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 483.

⁶ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 23.

sich spontan auch nach aufhören der germ. invasion entwickelt hat. . . . So wird im astur. jedes *vu-* (gleichgiltig ob primär oder secundär) > *gu-*; *bonus bueno* > *guëno*, sp. [a] *buëlo* = ast. *guëlo*, sp. *hueso* = ast. *guëso*."¹ Meyer-Lübke mentions a similar change in Italian: "*v* devant *o*, *a* peut ou bien tomber, ou bien devenir *gʷ*, *g*, en passant par *ʷ*."²

§ 28. Initial *p*.

Initial *p* remains as in Castilian; for example, *peña*, *puerta*, *plata*, etc.

§ 29. Initial *f*.

Latin initial *f* became *h* in Castilian and remained aspirate until late in the sixteenth century. The only exception to this rule was before *ue*, *ui* where Latin *f* remained; all other Castilian words having initial *f* show learned influence or a borrowing from the Galician or Asturian dialects. In Mexico *f* has become *h* even before *ue*, *ui*, and in this case it has retained its aspiration, while in all other cases the *h* has become silent as in Spain. Examples: *FUERZA* > *'huęrsa*, *FUETE* > *'huętę*, *FUERTE* > *'huęrtę*, *FUI* > *'hui*, *FUIMOS* > *'huimęs*. In Spain this change has been noted for Andalusia, Asturia, Estremadura and Santander,³ and in America the phenomenon is equally wide-spread, even including Porto Rico. In transcribing the popular speech of these districts, the letter *j* is generally used to represent the aspirate sound just mentioned. Schuchardt, after a careful study of the Andalusian dialects, concludes that the sound is simply an aspirate *h* (the *h* of German *haben*), and Storm reaches the same conclusion in regard to the Spanish of Porto Rico.⁴

It is worthy of mention that in Andalusia, Estremadura and East Asturia, every *h* out of Latin *f* is still pronounced, while in Galicia, Latin *f* has remained in all cases, giving such

¹*Germ. Elem. im Span.*, p. 5.

²*Dial. Cast.*, p. 13.

³*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, § 446.

⁴*Romania*, v, p. 179.

forms as *facier*, *fijo*, etc.¹ In Buenos Ayres, not only *fue*-, *fui*- > 'hue-, 'hui-, but *fu*- > 'hu-; for example, *pro'hundo* (PRO-FUNDO), 'husil (FUSIL).² In Mexico one hears occasionally *al'hombra* (ALFOMBRA), *o'hicio* (OFICIO).

A few isolated words show preservation of the sixteenth century pronunciation; for example, 'humo for Castilian (H)UMO, 'hoyo for Castilian (H)OYO.

§ 30. Medial *b*, *v*.

Medial *b* (*v*) has the same history as when initial, that is, it remains as *b* except before *ue*, *ui*, in which case there is a double development to *we* or *güe*; for example, HABER > *añer*, IBA > *iba*; but ABUELO > *awelo* or *agüelo*, ENVUELTO > *enwuelto* or *engüello*.

b > *m* in *bagamundo* < VAGABUNDO. This is doubtless a case of popular etymology, due to a confusion of the element *-bundo* with *mundo*, since the expression "correr el mundo" is so frequently used in connection with the vagabond. A confusion of the two forms of this word is by no means rare in Spain.

lamber (Lat. *lambere*) calls for explanation. The Castilian form is *lamer*, but *lamber* occurs in Portugal, Galicia³ and Santander,⁴ hence we may suppose that the word came into Mexico from one of the North Spanish provinces, and is a survival from the Old Spanish. The Mexican form is found also in Bogotá⁵ and Venezuela.⁶

The verbs *caer* and *traer* form an imperfect tense *káiða*, *tráiða*. The first stage in this development is a change of accent, CAÍDA > *káia*, TRAÍDA > *tráia*; later there is a confusion with verbs of the first conjugation which regularly have an accented *a* preceding the termination.

¹Gram. Gal., p. 249.

²Gram. Gal., pp. 34, 44, etc.

³Leng. Bogot., p. 471.

⁴Soc. de Ling., II, p. 59.

⁵Dial. Cast., p. 3.

⁶Rivodó, Voces Nuevas, p. 245.

§ 31. *Medial p, f.*

Medial *p* and *f* remain as in Castilian; for example, *kapa* (CAPA), *χɛfɛ* (JEFE), etc.

§ 32. *Finals.*

The labials have not remained as finals in Castilian or Mexican Spanish. The only exception is *klub* < English CLUB.

§ 33. *b + cons.*

Araujo states that *b* is not pronounced in Castilian in combinations *subst-* and *subsc-*; for example, *sustancia*, *suscripcion*. In Mexico *b* of the prefix *sub-* falls in every case where it is followed by a consonant except *l*: SUBSTANCIA > *sustansia*, SUBSCRIPCION > *suskrisiɲ*, SUBTERRANEO > *sutɛrraɲo*, SUBMARINO > *sumariɲo*, SUBDIACONO > *suðiakono*. The same rule holds good for the prefix *ob-*, which, however, rarely occurs in Castilian except before *s*: OBSERVAR > *osɛrɓar*, OSCURO > *oskuro* OBTENER > *otɛɲɛr*.

§ 34. *p + cons.*

The combinations *pt*, *ps* and *pc* occur in Castilian only in learned or borrowed words; in all other cases the *p* has fallen. In Mexico these learned or borrowed words have undergone the same reduction as original Latin words having the same combinations of consonants. Examples: ACEPTO > *aseɲto*, PRECEPTOR > *preɛɲtoɾ*, ECLIPSE > *ɛkliɛ*, CORRUPCION > *kɔrrusiɲ*, PROSCRIPCION > *proskrisiɲ*. Forms like *aseuto* (ACEPTO), *conseuto* (CONCEPTO) occur occasionally and are probably introduced from North Spain.

kápsula (< CAPSULA) shows the same development as that which has taken place in Castilian *cautivo*, *bautisar*, etc.

DENTALS.

§ 35. *Initial t, s.*

Initial *t* and *s* remain as in Castilian; for example, *təðo*, *sala*, etc.

§ 36. *Initial d.*

Initial *d* does not occur in *ɣnðɛ* (Cast. DONDE). This word is a survival of the Old Spanish form (< Lat. *unde*) which has been preserved in the popular speech, both of Spain and America.

With quite a large number of people in Mexico, there is a tendency to drop the initial *d* in pretonic syllables, hence such forms as *ɛstruɪɾ*, *ɛspachɔ*, *e*, etc. The same tendency is especially strong in Aragon,¹ and is due to the characteristically weak pronunciation of *d*, which, from its very nature, may easily fall. Isolated cases may be found in Spanish-speaking provinces; for example, *ecir* is the common form in Andalusia for *decir*, *diz que* in Bogotá has become *es que*, which in Venezuela is still further reduced to *i que*.²

On the other hand, we find inorganic initial *d* in Asturian³ *dalgun*, and in Porto Rico⁴ such forms as *diba*, *diban* are of frequent occurrence.

§ 37. *Initial c (+ e, i), z.*

Initial *c* (followed by *e* and *i*) and *z* have the sound of pure dental sibilant *s*; for example, *sɛna* (CENA), *siɛlo* (CIELO), *sapatɔ* (ZAPATO), *sɔrrɔ* (ZORRO), etc.

The pronunciation of *c* (+ *e, i*) and *z* in Spain before the eighteenth century is one of the unsettled questions of Spanish phonetics. It is, however, generally supposed that *ç* represented a voiceless *s*, while *z* indicated a voiced dental sibilant,

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 82.

²*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 41.

³*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 234.

⁴*El Jibaro*, pp. 49, 50, etc.

though the symbols are frequently confounded in the same word. In the manuscripts of the Old Spanish period, *s* is often used for *z*, but Baist remarks that the sign which has been mistaken for *s* was simply another form of writing *z* and had the voiced quality of the latter.¹ However this may be, there is an interesting statement made in the *Diálogo de la Lengua* (written, according to Ticknor, before 1536), which throws some light on the subject of pronunciation :

“Marcio. De dónde viene que algunos españoles en muchos vocablos, que por el ordinario escribís con *z*, ellos ni la pronuncian ni la escriben ?

Valdés. Eso es vicio de las lenguas de los tales, que no les sirven para aquella asperilla pronunciación de la *z*, y ponen en su lugar la *s*, y por *hacer* dicen *haser*, y por *razon*, *rason*, y por *recio*, *resio*.”²

The *s* to which Valdes refers must be voiceless, otherwise there would be no difference between *s* and *z*. And moreover, remembering that Valdes was a courtier at the court of Charles V, the force of his remarks would be lost if he were not referring to the educated classes. In fact the word *escriben* gives a fair idea of the status of the people whose pronunciation is criticised. Hence we may infer that at this time (1536) there was creeping into the literary speech a vulgarism which confused the pronunciation of *ç* and *z* and made them both voiceless instead of keeping the latter voiced.

Velasco (1582), writing at the time when *ç* and *z* had become interdental, says that they represented different sounds, the first being voiceless, the second voiced. Storm, after a consideration of Velasco's statement and having in mind the fact that *ç* and *z* were frequently confounded, comes to the following conclusion : “Velasco ist wahrscheinlich durch die Verschiedenheit der Zeichen verleitet worden, auch eine Verschiedenheit der Aussprache anzunehmen.”³ Now as both voiced and

¹ *Libro de la Caza*, p. 207.

² *Mayans y Siscar, Orig. de la Leng. Esp.*, p. 72.

³ *Eng. Phil.*, I, p. 48.

voiceless dental sibilant were used by the more careful and conservative speakers before 1536, it is more natural to suppose that in Velasco's time (1582) there existed side by side both a voiced and voiceless interdental, but this pronunciation belonged to the conservative element of society and naturally represents the custom that Velasco would describe in his work. On the other hand, there may have existed among the majority of the educated classes only the voiceless interdental, since they knew only the voiceless dental fricative out of which the interdental was developed.

Another point is to be noted. The Spanish *c* before *e*, *i*, and *z* in all positions have the sound of *s* in the speech of the educated classes of Mexico, South America¹ and Cuba,² and this conformity of pronunciation would argue strongly for the fact that the simple sibilant was the sound used in the literary speech of Spain at the time of the colonization of these territories.

It is a very general idea with those who have written on American Spanish, that the pronunciation of *c* and *z* as *s* is due to a large Andalusian element among the American colonists. In contradiction to this idea compare the following statement of Morel-Fatio: "In Andalusia *c* and *z* are seldom pronounced like *s*, but a feature more peculiar to the Andalusians is the inverse process—the softened or interdental pronunciation of *s* (the so-called *ceceo*) *zeñor* (senor), etc."³

Von Name mentions an interesting development among certain inhabitants of Cuba and the Curaçoa islands: "*z* has the sound of *s* as has also *c* before *e*, but before *i* like *s* in the same position, it passes into English *sh* thus . . . *shelu* (*cielo*), *dushi* (*dulce*), *shete* (*siete*)."⁴ These Creole words have of course passed through the stage *sielo*, *dulse*, *siete*, and the modern form represents the same development that took place in original Latin words in the Old Spanish pronunciation; for example, *vesica* > *vešiga*, *dixit* > *diše*, etc. Lenzner men-

¹ Marroquin, *Ortologia*, p. VIII.

² *Ency. Brit.*, XXII. p. 351.

³ Förster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, p. 13.

⁴ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 160.

tions certain Indian loan-words in Guatemala which contain the sound *š*; namely, *mišco* (*mizto*), *tapišcar* (*lapixcar*), *cacašite* (*cacaxte*).¹ In Mexico there are at least three words which have initial *š*-sound; namely, *šoko*, *šunde* and *šoma*. The last-mentioned, *šoma*, is the name of a wooden drinking-cup and hence may be in some way connected with the vulgar Spanish *chomar* 'to drink.'

§ 38. *Medial t, s.*

Medial *t* and *s* remain as in Castilian; for example, *roto*, *kasa*, etc.

§ 39. *Medial d.*

Medial *d* between *a-o* and *a-a* regularly falls; thus, *-ADO* > *-ao*, *-ADA* > *aa*. These forms are further reduced to *áu* and *a* respectively; for example, *MAMADO* > *mamao* > *mamáu*, *COLORADO* > *colorao* > *colóráu*, *PEGADA* > *pegaa* > *pega*, *NADA* > *naa* > *na*.

The fall of *d* in the cases mentioned above, is general throughout Spain and America. The extent to which *d* has fallen in the termination *-ido* has not yet been determined, and the opinions on this subject are widely different. Kroeh states that "This practice of dropping the *d* is very general in Spain and America when this letter is final or when it occurs in the endings *ido* and *ado*."² Mugica, on the other hand, seems to regard the phenomenon as characteristic of Andalusia.³

biše, *bišo* for Castilian *vi*, *vio* are the Old Spanish forms which have been preserved in provincial Spain and America.

§ 40. *Medial c (+ e, i), z.*

Medial *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) have the same sound as when initial, that is, voiceless dental sibilant; for example, *asçr* (*HACER*), *prešiošo* (*PRECIOSO*), *plasa* (*PLAZA*), *asul* (*AZUL*).

¹*Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, p. 84.

²*Pronunciation of Spanish*, p. 11.

³*Gram. de Cast. Antig.*, § 259.

§ 41. *Final d.*¹

Final *d* falls; for example, USTED > *usté*, VERDAD > *berdá*, VIRTUD > *virtú*. The fall of final *d* is very general in Spain, in fact Cuervo states that it is silent "dondequiera que se habla nuestra lengua,"² and Araujo remarks that even the educated of Madrid say *usté*.

An interesting exception in Mexico is *reḍe*, which corresponds to Castilian RED (< Lat. *réde*). The Mexican form is doubtless introduced from the Galician dialect in which Latin final *e* is preserved; for example, *bondade*, *piidade*, *mercede*.³ Saco Arce states that the final *e* of these Galician words is added, but Morel-Fatio is probably correct in supposing that the *e* is the Latin posttonic which was retained in the Old Leon dialect.⁴ In fact, similar forms occur as far back as the *Poema del Cid*. The creole form of *red* in Cuba and Curaçoa is *reda*.

Cuervo mentions a similar retention of posttonic *e* in Bogotá; namely, *huespede* (HUESPED).⁵

§ 42. *Final s.*

Final *s* before a word beginning with a vowel or voiceless consonant has the sound of voiceless dental sibilant: *mēs*, *tras*, *despuēs*, etc.

Final *s* before a word beginning with a voiced consonant (except *l* or *r*) becomes a voiced dental sibilant: TRES DIAS > *treṣ ḍias*, LES DIGO > *leṣ ḍigo*, LOS BORREGOS > *loṣ ḃorregos*, LOS MISMOS > *loṣ meṣmos*. A discussion of this phenomenon will be found under 's + cons.' § 45.

Final *s* falls before a word beginning with *l*, *r* or a sibilant. Before *r*: MAS RICO > *ma rikō*, DOS REALES > *dō rialṣ*, LOS REMEDIOS > *lō reṃediḃs*; before *l*: MAS LARGO > *ma largo*, TODOS LOS DIAS > *tōdō loṣ ḍias*; before a sibilant: DOS CIENTOS (= *dos sientos*) > *dō siēntṣ*, LAS SILLAS > *la siyas*.

¹ Final *t* does not occur.² *Leng. Bogot.*, 473.³ *Gram. Gal.*, p. 20.⁴ *Romania*, IV, p. 33.⁵ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 465.

Meyer-Lübke, in treating the final *s* in Spanish, remarks: "En espagnol l'*s* est maintenant en voie de s'assourdir, et l'assourdissement a déjà été réalisé en andalous."¹ Kroeh, speaking in a rather indefinite manner of the Spanish of Spain and America, states that "Final *s* is frequently dropped in conversation when the next word begins with a consonant, especially *l, m, n, r.*"² Schuchardt states that in Andalucia *s* before a consonant or when final has become *h*, that is, it has passed from "tonlose Enge zu tonlose Weite,"³ and Cuervo mentions the same pronunciation in Bogotá.⁴ For Mexico we have Semeleder's statement that "Die Bewohner der Ostküste, so wie die Cubaner, verschlingen das *s* am Ende der Worte oder verwandeln es in einem hauchenden Laut der fast wie *f* klingt. Derselbe geschieht oft sogar mit inlautendem *s.*"⁵ The *f*-sound here referred to is doubtless the *f* before *ue, ui*, that is, *'h*.

From the remarks noted above it is evident that the fall of *s* in Mexico City is much more restricted than in the districts just mentioned; in other words, if we omit the fall of final *s* before a sibilant (which is a case of simple reduction of two identical sounds) the fall takes place only before the liquids *l, r*. Brugmann⁶ shows that the fall of *s* in Old Latin took place first before the consonants *n, d, l*. In this connection, one case can be cited where *s* falls before *n* in Mexico; namely, BUENAS NOCHES > *węna noçęs*. Compare also the forms *dejémolo, llamémola*, etc., in Costa Rica,⁷ and the literary Spanish forms *vamonos, hablamonos*, etc. In Old French, *s* early became silent before *m, n, l, r*; in modern Provençal, we find *lai, lei* before *d, l, m, s*, but *les, las* before the consonants *p, k, t*.⁸ Thus it is evident that the fall of *s* in Mexico, though not so extensive as in other Spanish domains, is in harmony with the principles established for other languages; that is to say, the break was made before the liquids and in Mexico before *l, r (n)*.

¹Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 509.

²Pronunciation of Spanish, p. 14.

³Zus., v, pp. 319-320.

⁴Leng. Bogot., p. 481.

⁵Wissensch. Ver., I, p. 14.

⁶Comparative Grammar, I, pp. 505-507.

⁷Prov. de C. R., p. 513.

⁸Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, § 627.

§ 43. *Inorganic final s.*

The second person singular of the preterit tense always ends in *s*, hence the words *estubíes* (ESTUVISTE), *tubíes* (TUVISTE), *comíes* (COMISTE), *mandátes* (MANDASTE), etc. The final *s* is added by analogy to the second person singular of all other tenses.¹ In Andalucía² and Bogotá³ the corresponding forms are *comistes*, *hablastes*, etc.

The noun *café* forms a plural *kaféses* (Cast. CAFÉS). Cuervo mentions two analogous examples for Bogotá; namely, *pieses* plural of *pie*, and *ajises* plural of *aji*; he mentions also Quindalé's statement that such plurals are "inficionados de gitanismo."⁴ Now, whether the forms found in South America and Mexico represent a direct borrowing from the *gitanos*, or whether they represent a parallel development in the folk-speech of America, the explanation of the final *es* is evident, especially for *pieses* and *cafeses*. There are but few words in Spanish which end in accented *e*. These words regularly form a plural by addition of *s*, thus making a final *-és*, which ending is naturally confused with the large number of words having *-és* in the singular, that form their plural by adding an atonic *es*; for example, *mes meses*, *cortés corteses*, *Frances Franceses*. In Spanish America the number of such words is greatly enlarged by the fact that *-ez* is pronounced *es*, hence *ves* (*vez*) *veses*, *jues* (*juéz*) *jueses*, etc. Therefore the formation of a plural *caféses*, *piéses* upon the original plural *cafés*, *piés* seems a very natural process.

§ 44. *d + cons.*

d followed by *m* regularly becomes *l*; for example, ADMITIR > *almitir*, ADMIRABLE > *almirablę*, ADMINISTRADOR > *almi-nistrađor*, etc. Maspero mentions similar forms in Buenos

¹Romania, XXII, pp. 71-86.²Zis., v, p. 320.³Leng. Bogot., p. 134.⁴Leng. Bogot., p. 76.

Ayres.¹ This change of *d* to *l* is a physiological one; the sides of the tongue are lowered in anticipation of the following liquid *m*, thus changing the explosive *d* to the liquid *l*.

dr > *gr* in MADRE and PADRE, which become respectively *magre* and *pagre*. These forms, however, are confined chiefly to the Indians of the interior and are rarely heard in Mexico City. The word *pagre* is found also in Chile.² An explanation of the Mexican words may be found in the fact that *r* did not exist in the Nahuatl language, consequently the Indian, in attempting to pronounce the Spanish *r*, made it guttural, then, in anticipation of this guttural *r*, the tongue is drawn back from the *d*- to the *g*-position.

§ 45. *s* + voiced consonant.

s followed by a voiced consonant regularly becomes voiced: MISMO > *meŋmo*, DURASNO > *ðuragno*, etc. This change of *s* to *ŋ* is the same as that mentioned for final *s* before a word beginning with a voiced consonant.³

The extent of the occurrence of voiced *ŋ* in Spain is an unsettled question; for example, Kroeh⁴ and Knapp⁵ deny its existence in Castilian; Meyer-Lübke states that "l'espagnole en général possède aucune sifflante sonore;"⁶ Baist admits the voiced sound "im Auslaut und vor *g*."⁷ The latest opinion on the subject is by Araujo, whose results correspond to those noted for Mexico: "Cuando la *s* ortográfica ba delante de alguna konsonante sonora, se kontajia más o menos de su sonoridad."⁸

§ 46. *s* + *l*.

The initial syllable *es*- falls in ESTANQUE and in all forms of the verb ESTAR. The fact that *tanque* is found in Galicia⁹

¹ Soc. de Ling., II, p. 62.

² Phon. Stud., VI, p. 160.

³ Cf. § 42.

⁴ Pronunciation of Spanish, p. 14.

⁵ Span. Gram., p. 13.

⁶ Gram. des Lang. Rom., I, p. 393.

⁷ Grundriss, I, p. 694.

⁸ Fonética Kastelana, p. 54.

⁹ Dicc. Gal., p. 297.

and Asturia¹ makes it possible that the Mexican form was introduced from North Spain. *Tanque* is found also in Venezuela.²

The fall of *es-* in *ESTAR* takes place also in Asturia³ and Cuba.⁴ The weakening of *s* before a consonant is characteristic of Andalucia and Bogotá, and Schuchardt remarks on this subject: "Dass das spanische *s* vor consonanten anders articulirt wird, als zwischen Vocalen und dass diese Verschiedenheit im Portugiesischen noch schärfer hervortritt, ist oben schon bemerkt worden. Es ist dieses *s*, welches in Andalusischen zu *h* wird, so: *ehlá, bohco, mihmo*."⁵ Mexico represents a stage of further development than that just quoted; that is, the *eh* has fallen entirely and we may suppose the stages *está* > *ehlá* > *'tá* > *tá*. The Andalusian stage *ehla* has been preserved in Chile⁶ and Bogota,⁷ where we find such forms as *cohta, ehla*, etc.

In *tá* < *HASTA* there must have been a change of accent before the weakening of the *s* took place, that is, *HÁSTA* > *haslá* > *a'hlá* > *'tá* > *tá*.

PALATAIS.

§ 47. Initial *c*, *qu*.

Initial *c* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) retain the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *kasa, kōmō, kuna, kēdō, kintō*.

§ 48. Initial *g*.

Initial *g* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *gana, gōbierna, gerra* (GUERRA), *giar* (GUIAR).

g before *ua* regularly disappears in pronunciation; GUARDA > *warḍa*, GUAJOLOTE > *waxōlōtē*, GUADALAJARA > *wada-*

¹*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 114.

²*Voces Nuevas*, p. 245.

³*Palab. y Frases Bables*, p. 113.

⁴*Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 156.

⁵*Zts.*, v, p. 319.

⁶*Phon. Stud.*, vi, p. 23.

⁷*Lang. Bogot.*, p. 481.

laxara, GUADALUPE > *wadalupe*. Other portions of Spanish America where the same pronunciation is found are Chile,¹ Cuba and the Curaçoa Islands.² Kroeh in his *Pronunciation of Spanish in Spain and America* remarks: "When *gua* begins a word some drop the *g* and pronounce *u* like *w*; guardar = wardar."³ This statement throws no light on the extent of the phenomenon, and furthermore, we shall see later that in Mexico it is not confined to initial *gua*, for *g* falls also in medial *gua* and *guo*.

Since Castilian initial *gua* occurs only in words of Germanic or Arabic origin, a natural supposition is that the Mexican pronunciation may be a preservation of the original *wa*-sound. In support of such an explanation we should expect to find traces of the *w* in Old Spanish and in some of the modern dialects of Spain. But the *wa* does not occur in Old Spanish, and if it exists in the modern vulgar speech of Spain, the fact has not been mentioned by any of the numerous writers on Spanish dialects. On the contrary, the phenomenon is found only in Spanish America, and even here it seems to be limited to Chile, Cuba, Curaçoa and Mexico. Another point against the supposition that Mexican *wa* represents the original Gothic or Arabic sound is the fact that it is found also in medial position, out of *gua* that goes to back Latin *qua*; for example, AGUA > *awa*, IGUAL > *wal*. Hence we must suppose that *wa* is a later development of *gua*, which took place after the Spanish conquest of America.

The physiological explanation of such a change is a natural one; it represents an assimilation of *g* to the following semi-vowel *y*, that is, *gua* > *yua* > *wa*. This development has a counterpart in the history of the Old French development of Latin *-cum*, *-gum*, followed by a word beginning with a vowel: *fagum* + *vok* > *fayy* > *fou*.⁴ A still closer analogy may be seen in Provençal, where *fayy* > *fau*.⁵ In English,

¹ *Zts.*, xv, p. 519.² *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151.³ *loc. cit.*, p. 12.⁴ *Zts.*, viii, pp. 385-395.⁵ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 391.

also, there is a series of words showing a similar change to that found in Mexico; namely, *wait*, *warison*, *warrant*, in which the initial *wa* has its origin in French *gua*, which, in turn, goes back to Germanic *wa*.

§ 49. *Initial j, g (+ e, i).*

Initial *j* and *g* (+ *e, i*) have preserved the Castilian pronunciation of guttural spirant *χ*: *χamas*, *χeneral*, *χoben*, etc.

In Galicia¹ and the Philippine Islands,² *j* has the sound of *ś*, that is, it has preserved the sixteenth century pronunciation.

§ 50. *Initial ch.*

Initial *ch* retains the dento-palatal sound of the Castilian: *charla*, *chiko*, *chulo*, etc.

§ 51. *Medial c, qu.*

Medial *c* (+ *a, o, u*) and *qu* (+ *e, i*) remain as in Castilian; for example, *sako*, *tokē*, *chikilo*.

kogotē (Cast. *COOOTE*) is the preservation of a Northern Spanish form which is found in Vizcaya and Aragon.³

§ 52. *Medial g.*

Medial *g* generally remains as in Castilian; for example, *ḡiálogo*, *tráigo*.

Medial *g* before *ua*, *uo* has the same development as initial *g* before *ua*, that is, it disappears in pronunciation by means of assimilation to the following *u*: *AGUA* > *ayua* > *awa*, *CHICHIGUA* > *chichiwa*, *ANTIGUO* > *antiwo*, etc.

Medial *g* has disappeared in *auχero* (*AGUJERO*), *auχα* (*AGUJA*). The Mexican form occurs also in Bogotá,⁴ Chile⁵

¹*Gram. Gal.*, p. 13.

²*Wien. Akad.*, cv, p. 141.

³*Dial. Cust.*, pp. 50, 53.

⁴*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 484.

⁵*Phon. Stud.*, vi, 289.

and Costa Rica,¹ and may possibly show a borrowing from the Aragonese dialect.²

(h)*diga* (Cast. HAYA) is a survival of the Old Spanish and provincial form which is similar in development to Castilian TRAIGO < *trayo*. Cuervo mentions other analogous forms for Bogotá; namely, *creigá* (CREA), *leiga* (LEA), *reiga* (REA), etc.³

áigre (Cast. AIRE) shows an epenthetic *g* which is probably called into existence by the velar *r* in the Indian pronunciation; compare *magre*, *pagre*, § 44. The form *aigre* is found also in Costa Rica.⁴ Lenz offers the following explanation for the Chilian *adre*: "Ein schönes Beispiel von 'überentäusserung' nach GARTNERS benennung, ist die bildung *adre* statt *aire*, die aber natürlich nicht populär, sondern dem *mediopelo* (dem halbgebildeten) eigen ist; eine falsche analogiebildung nach der verbesserung des vulgären *páire* zum 'gebildeten' *padre*.⁵" Such an explanation cannot apply to Mexican *aigre* (cf. *pagre*) which is strictly popular in its use.

§ 53. Medial *j*, *g* (+ *e*, *i*).

Medial *j* and *g* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as in Castilian; for example, *muxer*, *traxer*, etc.

šamasana (Cast. DAMAJUANA) shows a preservation of the popular Spanish form.

§ 54. Medial *ch*.

Medial *ch* remains as in Castilian; for example, *mucho*, *echa*, *leche*, etc.

§ 55. Finals.

The palatals do not occur as finals in Castilian. Final *c* has fallen in Indian and foreign words; for example, CUTTLAHUAC > *Kyillaróá*, CHAPOLTEPEC > *Chapultepé*, TEHUANTEPEC >

¹Prov. de C. R., p. 74.

²Leng. Bogot., p. 484.

³Phon. Stud., vi, p. 286.

⁴Dicc. de Voces Arag., s. v.

⁵Prov. de C. R., p. 30.

Tewantēpē, Huautemōc > *Wautemō*; NEW YORK > *Nuẽba Yqr*,
BEEFSTEAK > *bistē*.

English CHECK > *chēkē* in which a posttonic *e* is added to prevent the occurrence of a final guttural stop.

The final *j* of *reloj* is silent both in Spain and Mexico.

§ 56. *c* + cons.

ct: Latin *ct* has regularly become *ch* in Spanish, consequently all modern Castilian words having the group *ct* must be either learned or borrowed, and it is these words that call for explanation.

c of the Castilian combination *ct* has fallen in Mexico, leaving behind an epenthetic *i* if the preceding vowel is *a* or *e*; for example, REDACTOR > *redaitqr*, ACTOR > *aitqr*; DEFECTO > *defēito*, RESPECTO > *respēito*; DOCTOR > *dotqr*, OCTAVO > *otabo*; CONDUCTOR > *kōndutqr*, OCTUBRE > *otubrē*.

Meyer-Lübke, in treating of original Latin *ct* which became *ch* in Castilian, remarks: "En Espagne, *ch* ne se rencontre plus dans le Nord-Ouest qui, pour d'autres traits aussi, s'éloigne du castillan, non plus que dans l'aragonais, le navarrais et l'asturien où nous trouvons le degré portugais *it*. Mais est-ce que *feita* . . . *dereyta* . . . *feito*, etc., sont réellement des formes dialectales, ou bien reproduisent-elles le plus ancien état castillan, c'est ce qui est douteux."¹ In connection with this passage compare Baist's statement: "*ct* wird intervokalisch zu *ch*; die Zwischenstufe *yt* tritt in der Einwirkung auf den vorausgehenden Vokal zu Tag, hat sich im Aragonischen wie Portugiesischen erhalten."² Hence it is evident that the *ct* of Spanish words has had the same development in Mexico that Latin *ct* had in the North Spanish dialects; the physiological explanation is the same as that of *ct* > *it* in French. Carolina Michaelis speaks of the fall of *c* in the popular speech of Spain, but does not mention the development of an epenthetic *i*: "Der

¹*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 416.

²*Grundriss*, I, p. 705.

vulgaire Spanier, ob er Kastilianer oder Katalane oder Valencianer, etc., ist, sagt . . . *letor, protetor, efeto*.”¹

In addition to forms like *defeito, aitor*, we find occasionally in Mexico *defeuto, autor*, etc., but not in sufficient numbers to be called a characteristic of the dialect. Similar double forms are found in Bogotá,² Buenos Ayres,³ Chile,⁴ and for Spain Mugica states that the twofold development occurs in Santander, Andalucia, Galicia “y otras provincias.”⁵

cc: The development of *cc* is similar to that of *ct*, that is, *c* falls, and if the preceding vowel is *a* or *e*, an epenthetic *i* is introduced; for example, ACCION > *aisiñ*, SATISFACCION > *satisfaisiñ*, LECCION > *leisiñ*; AFLICCION > *aflisiñ*, INSTRUCION > *instrusiñ*. Similar forms are found in Andalucia,⁶ Buenos Ayres⁷ and Bogotá.⁸

x (*ks*) > *s*; for example, EXACTO > *esáito*, TEXTO > *tesito*, INDEX > *inçes*, MAXIMILIANO > *Masimiliano*.

§ 57. *g* + *n*.

g falls in the group *gn*: INDIGNO > *indino*, IGNORANTE > *inorante*, MAGNIFICO > *manifiko*, IGNACIO > *Inasiñ*. The reduction of *gn* to *n* is very general in Spain and has been noted for Santander, Vizcaya,⁹ Asturia¹⁰ and Andalucia. In the latter province Schuchardt heard also *ñn*.¹¹ In Galicia the resulting sound is sometimes *ñ* (*iñorar, año*),¹² that is, it has the same development as original Latin *gn*, while in Mexico the *g* has been completely assimilated to the following *n* instead of palatalizing it.

¹ *Wortschp.*, p. 110.

² *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 60.

³ *Dial. Cast.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 472.

⁵ *Palab y Frases Bables*, p. 70.

⁶ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 448.

⁷ *Phon. Stud.*, VI, p. 153.

⁸ *Zts.*, V, p. 311.

⁹ *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 17, 51.

¹⁰ *Zts.*, V, p. 310.

¹¹ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 60.

¹² *Gram. Gal.*, p. 20.

LIQUIDS.

§ 58. *Initial l, r.*

Initial *l* and *r* remain unchanged; for example, *loko*, *largo*, *raro*, *rio*, etc.

The intensive prefix *re-* is of frequent occurrence and is often strengthened to *rete-*: *regordo*, *relegordo*, etc.

§ 59. *Initial ll.*

Initial *ll* has become *y*: LLAMAR > *yamar*, LLEGAN > *yegan*, LLEVO > *llebo*, etc. The *y*-sound is characteristic of the higher as well as the lower classes in Mexico. The same pronunciation is very general in the popular speech of Spain and America; in Spain Baist makes an exception in regard to Aragon where "das ältere *ll* bleibt,"¹ in America the *y*-sound prevails in Cuba, Peru,² Chile,³ Costa Rica,⁴ Puerto Rico.⁵

In Puebla (Mexico) LL > *ž*: LLENO > *ženo*, LLAMAR > *žamar*, etc. The same pronunciation is found also in San Salvador and Buenos Ayres. Gaston Paris' remark in regard to the *ll* in Buenos Ayres applies to Puebla as well: "A Buenos Ayres on a été plus loin, non seulement *ll* a passé a *y*, mais *y* a passé au son chuintant du français *j*."⁶ That is, the tongue pushes forward the point of contact with the hard palate, thus passing from the voiced palatal to the voiced dento-palatal fricative; in other words, it is the same change that took place in the passage of original Latin *lj* to Old Spanish *ž*.

§ 60. *Medial l, r.*

Medial *l* remains: *malō*, *sielo* (CIELO), *mula*, etc.

Medial *r* generally remains: *tirar*, *troq*, *bara*, etc.

¹Grundriss, I, p. 704.

²Phon. Stud., VI, p. 31.

³El Jibaro, pp. 49, 69, etc.

⁴Etym. Forsch., II⁸, p. 60.

⁵Prov. de C. R., p. 512.

⁶Romania, VIII, p. 622.

Medial *r* falls in PARA > *paa* > *pa*,¹ and MIRA USTED > *miasté*. The fall of intervocalic *r* takes place in isolated words in Andalucía, Asturia,² Santander and Vizcaya,³ and in America similar cases are found in Buenos Ayres,⁴ Cuba, the Curaçoa Islands,⁵ Bogotá,⁶ Costa Rica,⁷ and Porto Rico.⁸

Metathesis takes place in POBRE > *proḃe*, PARED > *padḃr*, GABRIEL > *Grabieḃl*.

Interchange of *l* and *r* is not so common in Mexico as in provincial Spain; the only cases noted are CALZETIN > *kar-setin*, PEREGRINO > *peḃegrino*. To these may be added MARINA which in the speech of the Aztec soldiers became *malinche*.⁹

In Peru intervocalic *r* is occasionally changed to *d* (*cavalledo*, *queded*),¹⁰ a phenomenon which is also found in Vizcaya and Aragon.¹¹

Medial *rr* retains the Castilian pronunciation: *charro*, *tḃrrḃ*, etc.

§ 61. Medial *ll*.

Medial *ll* has the same history as when it is initial, that is, it becomes *y*: CALLE > *kayḃ*, TORTILLA > *tḃrtiya*, CAVALLO > *caḃayo*, etc.

In Puebla *ll* > *ḃ*: GALLINA > *gaḃina*, TORTILLA > *tḃrtiḃa*, etc.

§ 62. Final *l*.

Final *l* remains: *ḃl*, *al*, *moral*, *fiḃl*, etc.

§ 63. Final *r*.

Final *r* has become voiceless (*r*), so that the only audible sound is a voiceless glide after the preceding vowel; for ex-

¹ Cf. Herrig, *Archiv*, xxiv, p. 177.

² *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 18, 51.

³ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, p. 151.

⁴ *Prov. de C. R.*, p. 475.

⁵ Bancroft, *Hist. of Mex.*, I, p. 119.

⁶ *Dial. Cast.*, pp. 51, 84.

⁷ *Zts.*, v, p. 317.

⁸ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 64.

⁹ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 478.

¹⁰ *El Jibaro*, pp. 49, 69, etc.

¹¹ *Etym. Forsch.*, II², p. 60.

ample, COMER > *kõmẽr*, SEÑOR > *sĩñõr*, HABLAR > *ablãr*, etc. The process of weakening final *r* has been taking place in other Spanish dialects, but the ultimate result is not the same in the various districts. Bristed speaks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized *r* for the strongly trilled final *r*, e. g. *amaw* (or something very like it) for *amar*."¹

In Porto Rico final *r* is sometimes confounded with *l* (*desil*) but more frequently it becomes weakened to *y*; for example, *cuay*, *mejoy*, etc.² In Andalucia³ and Curaçoa⁴ final *r* has developed one stage further than in Mexico, that is, it has disappeared entirely; the same is true of the coast population of U. S. of Colombia, where are found such words as *seño*, *mujẽ*, etc.⁵ This wearing away of final *r* is well-known in the European languages, and in the United States it is found in the pronunciation of the negroes of the South, in their familiar *do* (*door*), *flo* (*floor*), *matta* (*matter*).

§ 64. *r*, *l*, + cons.

r and *l* remain unchanged in consonantal combinations; for example, *algo*, *alma*, *pierno*, *arka*, etc.

ASPIRATE.

§ 65. Initial *h*.

Initial *h* is silent in Modern Castilian, except before the diphthong *ue*; in Mexico it is silent before *ue*, and is aspirate in a few isolated cases when followed by *a*, *o*, *u*; for example, HUESO > *wẽso*, HUEVO > *wẽbo*; but, *'hoyo* ((H)OYO), *'humo* ((H)UMO), *'halar* ((H)ALAR). The conditions in Mexico are very similar to those in Cuba, according to the following

¹ *Zts.*, v, p. 317.

² *El Jibaro*, p. 49, etc.

³ *Zts.*, v, p. 318.

⁴ *Amer. Phil. Ass.*, I, 153, 155.

⁵ *Leng. Bogot.*, p. 478.

remark of Von Name: "The *h* is dealt with quite after the cockney fashion. Before the diphthong *ue*, where in Spanish it is strongly aspirated, in Creole as also in Cuba it is silent; thus, *webu* (*huevo*), *wesu* (*hueso*), *werfano* (*huerfano*). Before other vowels it is silent in Spanish, but generally aspirate in Creole."¹

The aspirate forms in Mexico are probably isolated cases of the preservation of the sixteenth century pronunciation, and this is doubtless true of the many districts of Spain and America where initial *h* is represented by the sign *j*, as for example, in Ecuador, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Costa Rica, Porto Rico, Santander, Andalucia, and likewise the Philippine Islands. In Andalucia the process has gone one step further, and original Castilian *j* (= *χ*) has become *h*; for example, *iho* (*hijo*), *hente* (*gente*).²

There is, in Mexico, another development of *h* before the diphthong *ue*; namely, HUE > *güe*: HUERO > *güero*, HUEVO > *güebo*, HUESO > *güeso*. Similar forms are still in provincial use in Spain and a large portion of Spanish America. The history of the change is similar to that of BUE > *güe*, that is, the initial *h* becomes silent and the following *u* being semi-vocalic, the *g* arises as explained in § 27.

§ 66. Medial *h*.

Medial *h* is silent in Mexican as well as in Castilian; as a graphic sign it does not prevent the diphthongization of the two vowels which it separates in AHOGAR > *aogar* > *augar*, etc.

NASALS.

§ 67. Initial *m*, *n*.

Initial *m* and *n* generally remain: *malo*, *mucho*, *numero*, *nata*, etc.

¹Amer. Phil. Ass., I, p. 151.

²Wulff, *Chap. de Phon. Andal.*, p. 41.

Initial *n* before the diphthong *ie* regularly becomes *ñ*, at the same time absorbing the *i* of the diphthong: NIETO > *ñeto*, NIEVE > *ñebē*, NERVIOS > *ñerbōs* (through a stage *niervos* which is found in Old Spanish as well as in the modern dialects).

The stem-accented forms of the verb *negar* are *ñego* (< NIEGO), *ñegas* (< NIEGAS), *ñega* (< NIEGA), etc. These forms have exerted an influence on the initial *n* of all other forms of the verb, hence we find *ñegar*, *ñegaðo*, *negamps*, etc.

ñuðo (Cast. NUDO) shows the preservation of a North Spanish form. Mugica, in his remarks on the dialect of Santander, states that "La *n* se muda en *ñ* en *nudo*, tambien del dialecto vizcaino, vocable en que se manifesta la influencia asturiana como en *añudar* (*anudar*)."¹ Baist also regards *ñudo* as of Asturian origin.²

§ 68. Medial *m*, *n*, *ñ*.

Medial *m*, *n* and *ñ* generally remain: *amo*, *sima* (CIMA), *mano*, *teñer*, *siñor*, *peña*, etc.

Medial *n* before the diphthongs *ie*, *ia*, *io* regularly becomes *ñ*, at the same time absorbing the *i* of the diphthong: ANTONIO > *Antoñio*, MATRIMONIO > *matrimoñio*, ANIEGA > *añega*, etc.

Muncho (Cast. MUCHO) shows the preservation of an Old Spanish form which is still in use in the dialects. According to Meyer-Lübke the *n* of MUNCHO is due to the initial nasal: "Dans beaucoup de localités une *n* et une *m* initial de la syllabe nasalisent la voyelle suivante, cf. encore là-dessus l'espagnol *manzana*, *ninguno*, *mancha*, *muncho*, etc."³ Baist restricts the rule as follows: "Anlautendes *m* erzeugt mehrfach vor *z*, *ch*, *s*, *dr*, *c*, ein *n*."⁴ In other words, the *n* occurs before a dental or dento-palatal, provided the syllable begins with *m*. The influence of the dental upon the development of the nasal is

¹*Dial. Cast.*, p. 20.

²*Grundriss*, I, p. 702.

³*Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 519.

⁴*Grundriss*, I, p. 707.

seen in the Creole of Curaçoa in such forms as *cominda* (*comida*), *landa* (*nadar*).

§ 69. *Finals.*

m and *n* do not occur as finals in Mexican or Castilian.

Final *n* generally remains: *χobɛn*, *kɔmɛn*, *sin*, etc.

In Puebla, and occasionally in Mexico City, final *n* > *ŋ*; for example, *gũɛŋ* (BUEN), *bɛŋ* (VEN), *ɛn fin* (EN FIN), etc. This pronunciation of final *n* is very common in Spain, as may be seen from Meyer-Lübke's statement: "*n* finale est presque partout vélaire: *ñ*, tel est sûrement le cas, en asturien, en andalous et dans l'Estramadure, dans la province de Léon et la Galice, puis dans les Canaries et à Cuba."¹ Lenz also mentions velar *n* as a characteristic of Peru.² According to Lentzner there is in Guatemala a "tendency to the nasalization of the final *-n* similar to the termination *-ng*; for example, *tambieng* (pronounce *tambieng-ge*, the last syllable being quite faintly sounded) instead of *tambien*; *tenieng* (pronounce *tenieng-ge*) instead of *tenian*."

The final *n* of *naiden* (Cast. NADIE) is probably by analogy to *combien*, *alguien*, *quien*, rather than the inexplicable final *n* that occurs in some of the Eastern French dialects. The basis of the Mexican *naiden* is the popular Spanish *naide*.

A striking characteristic of Guadalajara (in the State of Jalisco, Mexico) is the adding of a *n*-glide after a final *s*: ARBOZ (= *arros*) > *arrɔsɛn*, PUES > *puɛsɛn*. This *n*-glide is caused by lowering the velum before the *s*-sound is completed; the tongue-position remains the same and stream of breath continues its passage through the nose, thus producing the nasal-glide. Semeleder, in speaking of the inhabitants of the State of Jalisco, states "dass sie den worten ohne Auswahl einen nāsaleden klang anhangen."³ My own observations of the

¹ *Gram. des Lang. Rom.*, I, p. 510.

² *Zts.*, XVII, p. 195.

³ *Wissensch. Ver.*, I, p. 14.

speech of Guadalajara limit the nasal glide to words ending in *s* or *z*.

§ 70. *n* + cons.

n, in the groups *ng*, *nc*, has been drawn back to the post-palatal position by influence of the following guttural; for example, *beŋgo*, *teŋga*, *fandango*, *arran̄kaŋ*, etc.

n falls in the groups *nt*, *nsp*: INSTRUMENTO > *istrument̄o*, INSTANTE > *istant̄e*, TRANSPARENTE > *trasparen̄te*. The same phenomenon is found in Galicia,¹ Asturia,² Bogotá,³ and Costa Rica,⁴ and is simply a re-working of the law established for Popular Latin.

CHAPTER V.

PHONETIC CHANGES IN WORDS OF NAHUATL ORIGIN.

A. TONIC VOWELS.

§ 71. *Accent*.

The Latin system of accentuation made all other syllables subordinate to that which bore the tonic stress. In Nahuatl, on the other hand, there are five accents each of which has a distinct character of its own; a detailed discussion of these accents is, however, beyond the limit of the present work. Compare the following remark of Antonio del Rincon: "Nota que para la colocation del accento no se ha de mirar como en el latin solo un accento predominante en la diction, porque en esta lengua todos los accentos que tienen las palabras se pronuncian, y asi algunas veces conforme á lo que la diction pide, se hallan dos y tres accentos predominantes semejantes o diferentes."⁵ The reason of this system of accentuation is probably due to the fact that a large number of the polysyllabic words

¹*Gram. Gal.*, p. 263.

²*Zts.*, xvii, p. 301.

³*Leng. Bogot.*, p. 492.

⁴*Prov. de C. R.*, p. 394.

⁵*Gram. y Vocab. Mex.*, p. 63.

are made up of smaller words and particles, each of which has retained, to a marked extent, its original force and meaning.

All Nahuatl words which have come into the Spanish of Mexico are accentuated in conformity with Castilian words, that is, the accent is on the penult if the word ends in a vowel or *n*, and on the final if the word ends in a consonant (except *n*). Hence the number of *esdrújulos* is small, in fact only two examples have been noted; namely, *jíkara* (< XICALLI), *jíkama* (< XICAMATL), and of these the etymology of the first is far from certain.

§ 72. *Vowel signs.*

Fray Alonso Molina, who was the first systematically to transcribe the Nahuatl language in Roman characters, uses five vowel signs, *a, e, i, o, u*.¹ He remarks, however: "Puesto caso que los naturales hagan poca diferencia entre la *o* y la *u* por quanto usan ansi de la una como de la otra."² Later grammarians have noted a similar confusion of the vowels *e* and *i*. When *o* and *e* have been preserved in the dialect, they have the open or close sound in accordance with the rules of pronunciation of Mexican Spanish. The orthography used in the following pages is that of Mendoza and Sanchez,³ who in turn have followed Molina.

§ 73. *Tonic a.*

Tonic *a* remains with the Castilian pronunciation: AHUACATL > *awakatē*, QUAUHCALLI > *wakal*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, etc.

§ 74. *Tonic e.*

Tonic *e* has the sound of open or close *e* according to the rules of Castilian pronunciation: AHUEHUETL > *awewetē*, COCONETL > *kōkōnetē*, TLAPECHTLI > *tapeşkle*, etc.

¹Cf. *Bibliography*, No. 79.

²*Mus. Nac.*, iv, p. 128.

³Cf. *Bibliography*, Nos. 77, 86.

§ 75. *Tonic i.*

Tonic *i* remains as close *i*: CACOMITL > *kakomilē*, MISQUITL > *mēskitē*, APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, etc.

§ 76. *Tonic o.*

Tonic *o* remains as close *o*: XILOTL > *χilōlē* ACOCOTL > *akōkōlē*, TZOPILOTL > *sōpilōlē*. Exception: TOLLIN > *tule*.

§ 77. *Tonic u.*

Tonic *u* becomes *o*: AMULLI > *amōlē*, ATULLI > *atōlē*, CAYUTL > *cayōl*, CHIMULLI > *chimōlē*. The only exception is *ulli* > *ulē*. A similar change has taken place in aboriginal words in the Spanish of Buenos Ayres; for example, KUNTUR > *condor*, PURUTU > *poroto*.¹

Owing to the lack of scientific study of Nahuatl phonetics, the explanation of the change of checked *u* to *o* must be purely constructive. It seems probable that the *u* being in checked position was originally short and open, or became open on account of its shortness. The passage of such an *u* to *o* would be the same as that which took place in Popular Latin after the colonization of Sardinia.

§ 78. *Diphthongs ua, ue, ui.*

When preceded by a vowel (or *h*) the diphthongs *UA*, *UE*, *UI* become respectively *wa*, *we*, *wi*; when preceded by a consonant they retain the Castilian pronunciation; for example, *UA*: ACAHUALLI > *akawal*, AHUATL > *awatē*, TLALCACAHUATL > *kakawatē*; TLALQUAZIN > *klakwacho*. *UE*: AHUEHUETL > *awewēlē*; MOTZINCUEPQUI > *machinwēpa*. *UI*: CHAHUIZTLI > *cawisklē*, CHIQUIHUITL > *chikiwitē*; MOYOCUILLI > *moyokuil*, ITZCUINTLI > *ēskuinlē*.

¹ *Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 32.

B. ATONIC VOWELS.¹§ 79. *Atonic a.*

Initial *a* generally remains: AHUIZOTL > *awisotē*, AHUACATL > *awakatē*, AHUEHUETL > *awēwētē*, etc.

Exceptions: AHUACAMOLLI > *wakamole*, ATZIZICUILOTL > *chichikuilotē*, ACOCOTLI > *kōkōtē*.

The prosthetic *a* in *achichinar* (< CHICHINOA) is probably due to a confusion with Castilian *achicharrar* which has the same meaning as the Nahuatl word.

Pretonic *a* remains: TEPALCATL > *tepalkatē*, PINACATL > *pinakatē*, CAXITL > *kaxitē*.

Final *a* remains: APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, CHACHALACA > *chachalaka*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*. In the termination *-an*, the consonant falls and the vowel is treated as final *a*; for example, CHIAN > *chīa*, TEIPILOYAN > *klapiloya*.

HUILOTL should have become *wilotē*, but the final *e* is changed to *a* in order to make the word feminine in form, since it corresponds to Castilian *paloma*.

§ 80. *Atonic e.*

Initial *e* remains in ECPALLI > *ēkipalē*, which seems to be the only example of initial *e*.

Pretonic *e* remains: TEPETATL > *tepētātē*, AHUEHUETL > *awēwētē*, etc. Exceptions: *e* > *i* in CHILTECPIN > *chilpikin*, NEXCOMITL > *nēskōmil*; *e* > *o* in AYECOTL > *ayōkōtē*.

Final *e* remains: TILINQUE > *pilinkē*.

§ 81. *Atonic i.*

Initial *i* > *e*: ITZCUINTLE > *ēskuin̄kle*, IZQUITL > *ēskitē*, ECPALLI > *ēkipalē*.

¹ Posttonic vowels will be treated as *finals*, since an atonic penult occurs in only two words, *jēara* and *jēama*.

Pretonic *i* remains: APIPITZCA > *apipiska*, AHUIZOTL > *awisotē*. Exceptions: *i* > *e* in MIZQUITL > *mēskitē*, TEQUISQUITL > *tēkēskitē*, HUIPILLI > *wēpil*.

Tompia becomes regularly *tompia*, which, however, in literary Spanish is written *tompeate*. It is customary for the lower classes to pronounce Castilian *ea*, *eo*, *eu* as *ia*, *io*, *iu*, hence the form *tompia* was supposed to be an example of the popular pronunciation of *ea*, consequently the word is found in the dictionaries as *tompeate*.

Final *i* > *ē*: CHICHI > *chichē*, MULLI > *mōlē*, ATOLLI > *atōlē*, CHILLI > *chilē*. The same change of Indian *i* to *ē* takes place in the Spanish of Buenos Ayres.¹

When posttonic *i* is followed by *n*, the consonant falls and the final vowel becomes *ē*; for example, HUAXIN > HUAXI > *waxē*, TEPEHUAXIN > *tēpēwaxē*, etc.

§ 82. Atonic o.

Initial *o* remains: OCOTL > *ōkotē*, OCELOTL > *ōēlotē*, OTLATL > *ōlatē*.

Pretonic *o* remains: TZOPILOTL > *ōpilotē*, ACOCOTLI > *akōkotē*, CACOMITL > *kakōmitē*.

oa > *ua*: COATL > *kūatē*, CENCOATL > *ēēkūatē*.

Final *o* remains in *wakalkō* < QUAUHCALCO, which is the only example.

§ 83. Atonic u.

Initial and final *u* do not occur.

Pretonic *u* > *o*: MULCAXITL > *mōlkaxitē*, MUMUZTLI > *mōmōsklē*.

§ 84. Atonic ua, ue, ui.

The atonic diphthongs *ua*, *ue*, *ui* have the same development as when tonic; for example, AHUACATE > *awakatē*,

¹*Soc. de Ling.*, II, p. 52.

AHUEHUETE > *awəpətɛ*, HUILOTL > *wilətɛ*; but MOTZINCUEP-
QUI > *machinkuepa*, CUITLACACHI > *kʷillakəpɛ*.

§ 85. *Atonic uau.*

The triphthong *uau* is reduced to *wa* in strictly popular words; for example, QUAUHCALCO > *guakalko* > *wakalkə*, QUAUHCALLI > *guakalli* > *wakal*, QUAUHCAMOTLI > *wakamətɛ*. These words are often written *guacalco*, *guacal*, *guacamote*, and the change from *gua* to *wa* in the popular speech is the same as that noted for initial *gua* in words of Castilian origin.

C. CONSONANTS.

LABIALS.

§ 86. *Pronunciation.*

There is only one pure labial consonant in Nahuatl, namely, *p*. There seems, however, to have been a *v*-consonant in the pronunciation of the women, and concerning this consonant Molina remarks: "Los varones no usan de *v* consonante, aunque las mugeres mexicanas solamente la usan. Y assi dizen ellos *ueuell* . . . que es quatro silabas, y ellas dizen *vevell* con solas dos silabas."

§ 87. *p.*

p occurs as initial, medial and in consonantal combinations, and has in all cases remained with the Castilian pronunciation. Initial: PAPACHOA > *papachə*, PETLATL > *pətatɛ*, PETLACALLI > *pətakal*; medial: TZAPOTL > *sapətɛ*, TZOPILOTL > *səpələtɛ*, CHAPOPOTLI > *chapəpətɛ*; consonantal combinations: CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, TOMPIATL > *təmpiatɛ*, CHILPOCTLI > *chilpəktɛ*, TECPAN > *təkpən*, ICPALLI > *əkɪpalɛ*.

DENTALS.

§ 88. *Pronunciation.*

The dental signs in Nahuatl are *t*, *c* (+ *e*, *i*), *z*, *tz*, *x* (*d* and *s* do not occur).

t has the value of Castilian *t*.¹

c (+ *e*, *i*), *z*: Mendoza thus describes these sounds: "La *c* suave que se pronuncia casi igual á la *s*, un poco mas silbada, pegando la lengua en el nacimiento de los dientes, lo que ha hecho formar la opinion antes dicha, de que no debe desterrarse la *s* del mexicano. . . . La *z* que poco se parece á la castellana, pues tiene un sonido muy semejante á la *s*, que es el que generalmente se da en Mexico á la *c* suave y á la *z*."² Now, knowing that "*c* suave" and *z* did not differ in sound from *s* in the Spanish of America, and adding to this Mendoza's statement that the "*c* suave" of the Nahuatl is "un poco mas silbada," we may safely say that Nahuatl *c* (and *z*) represents an *s* slightly more aspirated than the Castilian *s*.

tz: This sound is treated as a single consonant, and Molina says it is equivalent to Hebrew *tzade*;³ Tapia Zenteno makes the same statement, and adds the following description of the sound: "En todo se pronuncia cerrando los dientes y difundiéndolo por ellas la lengua formando un ligero silbo sin violencia."⁴ Mendoza states "que se pronuncia encorvando la lengua y pegándola en medio del paladar."⁵ Combining these two descriptions we may conclude that in giving the *tz* sound, the tongue is curved upwards toward the hard palate, and it is the point of the tongue that presses against the back of the teeth (instead of the tip as in Spanish *s*).

x: The sound of this letter in the Castilian of the sixteenth century (until 1582) was *š*, consequently, the symbol *x* was used by the early grammarians in order to transcribe the *š*-sound which was found in Nahuatl. Since the *š*-sound was

¹*Nomb. Geog.*, p. 33.

²*Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

³*Mus. Nac.*, IV, p. 128.

⁴*Mus. Nac.*, III; Appen., p. 7.

⁵*Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

common to both Castilian and Nahuatl, none of the early grammarians call especial attention to it, consequently, the first mention of it must be sought in the period when Castilian *x* had passed from *š* to *χ*, that is, when the symbol *x* ceased to represent the Nahuatl sound. Tapia Zentena (who wrote in 1752) makes the following remark concerning the *x* in Nahuatl: "La *x* ó sigasele vocal ó consonante, siempre se hallare escrita en diccion mexicana, se pronuncia distinctamente diversa del Castellano y el Latin: hallase en primeras medial y ultimas sílabas. . . . Sabrase pronunciar bien teniendo algo apartados los dientes sin llegar á ellos la lengua y asentándola toda en lo inferior de la boca, bien abiertos los labios."¹

§ 89. *Initials.*

Initial *t* remains: TAMALLI > *tamal*, TECOLOTL > *tēkolōtē*, TEZONTLI > *tēsōñklē*.

Initial *t* > *p* in *pilīñkē* (< *tilinque*), probably due to a confusion of the prefixes *til-* and *pil-*.

Initial *c* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* remain as *s*: CENCOATL > *sēñkūatē*, CENZONTLI > *sēsōñklē*, ZACATL > *sakatē*.

Initial *tz* occurs only before the vowels *i*, *a*, *o*. *tzi* > *chi*: TZITZICAZTLI > *chichikasklē*, TZILCAYUTL > *chilkayutē*, TZIPIL > *chipil*. *tza*, *tzo* > *sa*, *so*: TZAPOTL > *sapōtē*, TZOACATL > *sōkatē*, TZOPILOTL > *sōpilōtē*, TZOMPANTLI > *sōmpāñklē*. The reason for the two developments is evident. Before *i*, the front of the tongue is raised in anticipation of the high vowel position, hence *tzi* > *chi*; before *a*, *o*, however, the front of the tongue is low, hence the *tz* is reduced to simple *s*.

There are, however, two exceptions found in Sanchez' *Vocabulario*; namely, TZOTZOCOLLI > *chōchōcōl*, TZAUITLI > *chauklē*. Mendoza's etymon CHIAUHOTLI² would explain the form *chaukle*, but no satisfactory explanation can be given for *chochocol*.

¹*Mus. Nac.*, III, Appen., p. 7.

²*Palab. Mex.*, p. 23.

Initial *x*, which had the value of *ś* in the sixteenth century, has undergone the same change as original Castilian *x*, that is, it has become *χ*: XACALLI > *χakal*, XILOTL > *χilōtē*, XITOMATL > *χitōmatē*.

§ 90. *Medials.*

Medial *t* remains: TOTOPOCHTLI > *tōtopō*, which is the only example.¹

Medial *o* (+ *e*, *i*) and *z* remain as *s*: AHUIZOTE > *awisōtē* EPAZOTL > *ēpasōtē*, OCELOTL > *ōēlōtē*.

Medial *tz* has the same treatment as when initial. TZI > *chi*: TLAQUATZIN > *klakyachē*, TZITZICAZTLI > *chichikasklē*, ATZITZICUILOTL > *chichikyilōtē*; TZO² > *so*: QUAHTZONTLI > *wasqñklē*, TETZONTLI > *tesqñklē*. Exception: TZOTZOCOL > *chōchōcōl*.

Mendoza states that the *tz* of Indian words "ha desaparecido casi por completo para dar lugar á la *z* escrita, no pronunciada sino como *s*; algunas veces en los diminutivos se cambia en *o* suave como en *Mexicaltzingo* que se escribe y pronuncia *Mexicalcingo*."³ This statement of Mendoza's fails to include the development of *tzi* to *chi*. The change of *tz* to *o* (= *s*) in *Mexicaltzingo* is the regular development in consonantal combinations; cf. § 91.

Medial *x* has the same history as initial *x*, that is, it passes from original *ś* to *χ*: TAXITL > *taxitē*, EXOTL > *ēχōtē*, TEPEHUAXIN > *tēpēwaxē*.

§ 91. *Dentals in consonantal combinations.*⁴

With the exception of *tl* and *tz*, which are treated as single consonants, *t* does not occur in consonantal combinations.

z remains as *s* in the groups *zc*, *ztl*, *nz*: TEMOZCALLI > *tēmaskal*, MIZQUITL > *mēskitē*, PIZTLI > *pisklē*, TLACOMIZTLI > *kakōmisklē*, CENZONTLI > *sēnsqñklē*.

¹ Sanchez, *Voc. Mex.*, s. v.

² *Palab. Mex.*, p. 11.

³ *tza* does not occur in medial position.

⁴ Dentals do not occur in final position.

tz occurs in the groups *tzo* and *litz*, and remains as *s*: API-
PITZCA > *apipiska*, ITZCUINTLI > *eskɨiŋkle*, MEXICALTZINGO
> *mɛxikalsingɔ*.

x occurs only in the group *xk*, and remains as *s*: TLAX-
CALOTL > *kaskalɔtɛ*, MEXCALLI > *mɛskal*.

PALATAIS.

§ 92. Pronunciation.

c,¹ *qu*, *ch*,² and *y*³ occur in Nahuatl, and have the sound of the corresponding Castilian letters.

§ 93. Initials.

Initial *o* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as *k*: CACOMITL > *kakomilɛ*, CAXITL > *caχitɛ*, QUIMILLI > *kimil*, QUIOTL > *kiɔtɛ*.

Labialized form: *cui*- > *kɨi*;⁴ for example, CUICO > *kɨikɔ*, CUITLACOCHE > *kɨitlakɔɕɛ*. *qua*⁵ > *gua* > *wa*; for example, QUAUHCALLI > *gwakal* > *wakal*, QUAUHCAMOTLI > *gwakamote* > *wakamɔtɛ*. The later change of *gua* to *wa* is the same as that which took place in original Castilian words. In the Nicaragua Spanish of the sixteenth century, *guayakello* (< QUAHUAQUI) shows the first stage of the development mentioned above.

qua- > *ka*- in MACUAHUITL > *makana*, AMAQUAHUITL > *anakawitɛ*. Each of these words has other peculiarities which make their etymology doubtful.

Initial *ch* remains: CHICHI > *chichɛ*, CHILLI > *chilɛ*, CHA-POLTEPEC > *Chapultɛpɛ*.

Initial *y* remains in YOLOZCHITL > *yɔlɔsɔɕhil*, which is the only example.

¹ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 26.

² *Mus. Nac.*, III, Appen., p. 8.

³ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 35.

⁴ *cue* does not occur in initial position.

⁵ *quo* does not occur in initial position.

§ 94. *Medials.*

Medial *c* (+ *a*, *o*, *u*) and *qu* (+ *e*, *i*) remain as *k*: ACOCOTL > *akokotē*, CUTLACOCHE > *kūtlakōchē*, CHIQUIHUITL > *chiki-witē*.

Medial *ch* remains: PAPACHOA > *papachō*, CUTLACOCHE > *kūtlakōchē*.

Medial *y* remains: AYATL > *ayatlē*, COYOTL > *coyotē*.

§ 95. *Finals.*

The use of palatals in final position is foreign to Castilian and Mexican Spanish. In Nahuatl, *c* and *ch* may occur as final consonants, but on their passage into Spanish the consonant falls or a final *e* is added.

Final *c* generally falls; for example, CHAPOLTEPEC > *Chapultepē*, HUAUHTEMOC > *Watemō*, etc. Compare NEW YORK > *Nueḡa Yōr*. A final *e* is added in *zococ* > *χokōkē*; compare English CHECK > *chēkē*.

Cuernavaca (< CUAHNAHUAC) is a case of popular etymology. The form should have been *kuanawa* or *kuanawakē*, but owing to the similarity in sound to the Spanish words *cuerna* + *vaca*, the meaning of the Mexican noun was changed from 'a place surrounded by woods' to 'cow-horn.'

Final *ch* occurs in only one Nahuatl word that has come into Spanish, and here a glide *e* has developed after the *ch*: MAPACH > *mapachē*. Mendoza mentions the fact that a glide *i* was often developed, even in Nahuatl, in the case of words ending in *ch*.¹

§ 96. *Palatals in consonantal combinations.*

c occurs in the groups *xc*, *zc*, *pc*, *cp*, and remains as *k*. *xc* > *sk*: ZACATLAXCALLI > *sakaklaskalē*, MEXCALLI > *mēskal*; *zc* > *k* in NEXCOMITL > *nēskōmītē*; *zc* > *sk*: MIZQUITL > *mēs-*

¹ *Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

kile, TEMAZCALLI > *tɛmaskal*. *pqui* > *pa* in MOTZINCUEPQUI > *machinkɛpa*, probably due to a substitution of *cuepa* for *cuepqui*. *op* > *kɔ*: TECPAN > *tɛkpan*.

ch occurs only in the complex *chtl*, which is reduced to *skl*: MICHTLAPIQUI > *mɛsklapikɛs*, QUAPACHTLI > *kɛapaskɛ*. *Piocha* < PIOCHTLI may be due to a confusion with Castilian *piocha*.

Tɛrnachilɛ < TONALCHILLI shows a change of *l* to *r* accompanied by metathesis.

LIQUIDS.

§ 97. Pronunciation.

The liquids in Nahuatl are *l*, *ɭ* and *tl*, and of these *l* alone has the same sound as in Castilian.¹

ɭ does not represent the Spanish *ɭ*, but according to Mendoza "sola indica un prolongacion en el sonido."² Molina states that "*ɭ* se ha de pronunciar como en el latin dezimos villa."³

tl is regarded as a single sound in Nahuatl and may occur in initial medial or final position. It is equivalent in value to the *tl* in *Atlantico*, if we consider the *t* and *l* as belonging to the same syllable; thus, *Atl-antico*.⁴

§ 98. Initials.

l and *ɭ* do not occur at the beginning of a word.

Initial *tl* > *kl*: TLACO > *klako*, TLEMULLI > *kɛmɔɭɛ*, TLATOLLI > *klakoɭɛ*. Tapia Zenteno speaks of the tendency to mispronounce *tl*: "Este letra se expresará abiertos los labios, procurando no equivocarla con la *c*, como los que ignoran este dialecto dicen *claclacolli*, *clamanchi*, etc. en lugar de *tlatlacolli*,

¹ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 31.

² *Palab. Mex.*, p. 9.

³ *Mus. Nac.*, iv, p. 123.

⁴ *Nomb. Geog.*, p. 33.

tlamanli.”¹ The change of *tl* to *kl* is the same as that which took place in Popular Latin *vechus* < *vetus* < *vetulus*.

Initial *tl* > *t* in the following words mentioned by Sanchez: TLAXAMANILLI > *tazamanil*, TLAPANCO > *tapanko*, TLAPECHTLI > *tapeskē*.²

§ 99. *Medials.*

Medial *l* remains: OLOTL > *olotē*, OCELOTL > *oşelotē*, TEXOLOTL > *tēxolotē*, PAPALOTL > *papalotē*.

In *xikara* < XICALLI the etymology is doubtful, for besides the change of *l* to *r* and the addition of a final *a*, we must also account for the change of accent.

Medial *ll* occurs only in the terminations *-lli* and *-llin* and is regularly reduced to *l*. In some cases the endings *i* and *in* disappear, in others they remain as *e*.

-alli > *-al*: ACAHUALLI > *akawal*, COMALLI > *komal*, COPALLI > *kopal*, CHIMALLI > *chimal*, etc. *-alli* > *-ule* in the following words: TEZCALLI > *tēkalē*, ZACATLAXCALLI > *ka-klaskalē*, ICPALLI > *ēkipalē*. The fall of the final vowel in the large majority of *alli*-words is probably due to the fact that the termination *-al* is of much more frequent occurrence, in Castilian words, than the ending *-ale*. The same remark applies in general to *-illi*, *olli* and *ulli*.

-illi > *-il*: HUEPILLI > *wēpil*, METLAPILLI > *mēklapil*, QUIMILLI > *kimil*, TLAXAMANILLI > *taxamanil*, etc. *-illi* > *-ile* in *chilli* > *chilē*, TONALCHILLI > *tōnachilē*.

-olli > *-ol*: XOCOYOLLI > *sōkoyol*, TZOTZOCOLLI > *chōchōkol*. *-olli* > *-ole*: ATOLLI > *atolē*, TLATOLLI > *klatolē*, PINOLLI > *pinolē*.

-ulli > *-olē*: AMULLI > *amolē*, CHIMULLI > *chimolē*, MULLI > *mōlē*. *ulli* > *ule*: ULLI > *ule*.

Medial *tl* occurs in a few words ending in *-tl*. In these words the first *tl* > *t* by assimilation to the *te* which regularly develops from final *tl*; for example, METLATL > *mētate*, PETLATL > *pētate*, TEPETLATL > *tēpētate*.

¹ *Mus. Nac.*, III, appen., p. 34.

² *Voc. Mex.*, s. v.

In *petaca* (< PETLACALLI) the *t* is by analogy to *t* in *petate*, since PETLACALLI is a compound PETLATL + CALLI. The words *petaca* and *petate* are found in Nicaragua Spanish in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹

§ 100. *Finals.*

Final *r* does not occur in Nahuatl, but is added to the following verbs by analogy to Castilian infinitives which always end in *r*: CHICHINOA > *chichinar*, PEPENA > *pepenar*.

Final *l* remains: TZIPIL > *chipil*, QUACHICHIL > *wachichil*. In *tēnkya* (< TENCUAPIL) the entire final syllable has fallen. The three examples just cited are the only words with final *l* that have come into Spanish from the Nahuatl.

Final *ll* does not occur.

Final *tl* > *te*: XILOTL > *χilote*, MECATL > *mekatē*, OOTL > *okote*, COYOTL > *coyote*. The change of *tl* to *te* is due to a wearing-away of the final consonant to a voiceless glide; the *l* first becomes voiceless, after which it easily passes to the front vowel *e* by influence of the *t*.

Final *tl* > *l* in the following words: OYAMETL > *oyamel*, CEMPOALXUCHITL > *sēmpasuchil*, YOLOXOCHITL > *yolosochil*. A possible explanation of the two last mentioned words is that they are by analogy to the large number of forms in *-il* < *-illi*.

§ 101. *Liquids in consonantal combinations.*

l generally remains in consonantal combinations. *lp*: CHILPOCTLI > *chilpoctlē*; *lt*: PILTONTLI > *piltontlē*; *kl*: QUAUH-CALCO > *wakalko*, XALTOMATL > *χaltomatē*. *l* > *r* in TONALCHILLI > *tōrnachile*, where the change is due to a confusion with Spanish *torna*. *l* is assimilated to *m* in CHILMOLLI > *chimmole* > *chimolē*. Entire syllable falls in TLALCACAHUATL > *kakawatē*.

¹Amer. Jour. of Phil., v, p. 63.

tl occurs only in combination with a preceding consonant, and becomes *kl* in all cases. *ntl* > *ηkl*:¹ CENZONTLI > *sen-sɔŋklɛ*, ITZCUINTLI > *ɛskɯɪŋklɛ*, TESONTLI > *tesɔŋklɛ*; *ztl* > *skl*: TEAPONAZTLI > *teɔɔnasklɛ*, PIZTLI > *ɣisklɛ*; *otl* > *kl*: CACTLI > *kaklɛ*, CHIPOCTLI > *chipɔklɛ*; *chtli* > *skl*: ICHTLI > *isklɛ*, MICTLAPIQUI > *mɛsklapikɛs*.

ASPIRATE.

§ 102. *Pronunciation.*

Peñafiel states that Nahuatl *h* "en medio y en fin de dición es aspirada. No se encuentra al principio de dición en los escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII, supliéndola en los dipthongos de la *u* con *v*. Por regla general, al principio de dición sólo hiere á la *u* y apénas si hay tres ó cuatro palabras con que precede á otra vocal." In the Nahuatl words that have come into Spanish, *h* occurs only before *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, or as final letter of a syllable.

§ 103. *Initial.*

Initial *h* falls and the following *u* becomes *w*: HUAXIN > *waxɛ*, HUIPILLI > *wɛpɪl*, HUAXOLOTL > *waxɔlotɛ*.

§ 104. *Medial.*

Medial *h* falls and the following *u* becomes *w*: AHUACATL > *awakatɛ*, CHIQUIHUTTL > *chikiwitɛ*.²

§ 105. *h + cons.*

h falls before a consonant: QUAUHCALLI > *wakal*, QUAUHCALCO > *wakalkɔ*.

¹ Cf. § 110.

² *h* does not occur in final position.

§ 106. *gua, güe.*

Initial and medial *hua* is often written and pronounced *gua* among the educated classes, such a form of writing and speaking being due to a mistaken etymology. The sound *wa* is foreign to Castilian, and, therefore, since the lower classes say *wa* for Castilian *gua* (cf. AGUA > *awa*), the educated suppose that the correct form for every folk-*wa* is *gua*; hence, for *awakatē* (*ahuacate*) they write *aguacate*, for *waχē* (*huaxe*), *guaje*, etc.

In Nicaragua the aboriginal *hue* has become *güe* in the Spanish folk-speech; this, however, is a different phenomenon from the *wa* > *gua* in Mexico. The Nahuatl *hue* > *we* by the fall of the aspirate, this *we* then becomes *güe* just as BUENO > *weno* > *güeno*, hence in Nicaragua HUEHUE > *güegüe*, etc.¹

 NASALS.
§ 107. *Initials.*

Initial *m*, *n* remain with the Castilian pronunciation: MECATL > *mēkatē*, MULLI > *mōlē*; NAHUALLI > *nawal*, NOPALLI > *nōpal*.

§ 108. *Medials.*

Medial *m*, *n* remain with the Castilian pronunciation: CACOMITL > *kakōmitē*, COMALLI > *kōmal*; PINOLLI > *pinōl*, CHINAMPA > *chinampa*.

§ 109. *Finals.*

Final *m* does not occur.

Final *n* regularly falls: TOLLIN > *tulē*, CHIAN > *chia*, HUAXIN > *waχē*, etc. A similar fall of aboriginal final *n* takes place in Nicaragua.²

¹Amer. Jour. of Phil., v, pp. 60, 62.

²Ibid., p. 62.

Final *n* remains in the following words: CAPOLLIN > *kapōlin*, CHAPULIN > *chapōlin*, CHILTECPIN > *chilpikin*, QUATEZON > *kyatesōn*. In Nahuatl words the final syllable never bears a tonic accent (except in certain vocative forms in *ē*, none of which have been preserved in Spanish), hence, in the class of words which have preserved the final *n*, we must suppose a change of accent to the last syllable on their passage into Spanish, which change of accent would naturally tend to preserve the final *n*.

§ 110. *Nasals in consonantal combinations.*

m occurs in the groups *lm*, *mp*, and remains unchanged: PILMAMA > *pilmama*, TILMATLI > *tilma*; CHINAMPA > *chinampa*, TOMPIATL > *tōmpiatē*, etc.

n occurs only in the groups *nz*, *nc* and *ntl*. *tl* regularly becomes *kl* in consonantal combinations, hence in the last two cases just mentioned, *n* is followed by a guttural and is naturally changed to *ŋ*. *nc* > *ŋk*: CENCOATL > *sēŋkuaē*, TLA-PANCO > *klapankō*, TZINCUALLI > *chīŋkual*. *ntl* > *nkl* > *ŋkl*: CENZONTLI > *sēnsōŋklē*, ITZCUINTLI > *ēskūiŋklē*, TEZONTLI > *tēsōŋklē*.

nz > *ns*: CENZONTLI > *sēnsōŋklē*.

CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1896.

VOL. XI, 2.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IV, 2.

V.—THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

No observant person can, I think, have failed to note of late years a certain increasing hesitation and perplexity in regard to the true function of literature in studies. Indeed, there are reasons not a few for thinking that we are preparing for one of those revisions and restatements of the general conception of what we should try to get from literature, of which we have several examples in the past. I do not mean merely that our literary taste is changing, or that we are passing from one set of literary admirations to another. Such lesser variation is incessantly going on. Classicism yields to romanticism, romanticism to realism, and this to something else, in an unbroken round of change. But these minor modifications of feeling and opinion about literature may easily take place without any material disturbance of the general estimate of the nature of literature or of the attitude of men's minds towards it. My neighbor may think that bad in books which I think good, and yet we may both seek in our reading to satisfy essentially the same needs, intellectual or aesthetic.

The change, however, to which I have reference, is of a far profounder kind. It affects the very substance of men's thought about books, substitutes for one form of promise and enticement to the reading of them another and quite different appeal, and necessarily carries with it new aims and methods in the study of them. I shall, perhaps, make my meaning clearer on this point by some brief illustration.

It is well known that during the Middle Ages the value of literature, in so far as it was serious and not intended merely to produce *joie et soulaz*, joy and solace, was conceived to consist in the fact that it served as a kind of bodying forth of a profounder truth than can be directly expressed in words. The mediaeval mind was universally and completely possessed by that allegorical method of interpreting the documents of the past, which had its earliest use on a large scale in the exposition of the Bible. When Hilary and Ambrose in the fourth century established among the Latin Christians the manner of exegesis that Philo Judaeus had originated and that the Alexandrian fathers had elaborated, they were unwittingly fixing for many centuries the form of one of the most important activities of the human spirit, the study of literature. The fourfold meaning—historical, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical—which they believed to run through the sacred books and which they made it their aim to educe and expound, became at once for their own and for succeeding generations of Christians the chief source of interest in literature in general. For a time, of course, there were obstacles in the way of the extension of this method to the profane writers. The Christian teachers had, indeed, found it impossible to do without Vergil and Horace and Cicero in their schools, as the famous decree of the Emperor Julian, prohibiting such use, plainly shows. A deep suspicion of these works of the Gentiles, however, long lingered among the Christian teachers, and from time to time found even violent expression. When, nevertheless, the Gentile part of society had long since disappeared, when the Christians found

themselves the supreme and only masters of the European world, the remembrance of the old doubts and hates gradually died away. Then it came about that the works of the great pagan writers, whose fame was consecrated by long tradition, insensibly fell into the same kind of estimation that the documents of the Christian faith enjoyed. These works, like the Bible, were felt to contain, beneath the veil of the outward form, a precious doctrine, and those that read them endeavored to find in them the same fourfold adumbration of hidden truth as in the Gospel itself. Bernard of Chartres, the greatest teacher of France in the twelfth century, asserts that Vergil "inasmuch as he is a philosopher, describes human life under the guise of the history of Aeneas, who is the symbol of the soul." Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Statius are regularly included in the lists of the philosophers. Cicero is not merely, to use the phrase of Paschasius Radbertus, the 'king of eloquence;' he is put by Alars de Cambrai before Solomon himself for wisdom (*Romans de tous les philosophes*):

Tulles qui moult fu sages clers,
De totes clergies plus fers
Que tout autre maistre de pris,
Est premiers esleus et pris.

And, finally, Ovid, the most facile of poets in morals as in art, was expounded at enormous length as the profoundest of teachers; and even his most scabrous works, the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedium amoris*, were seriously studied as containing a mystic sense of deep spiritual import. So all literature, insofar as it fell within the field of the intellectual class, had come to mean an allegorical account of spiritual things. And how firmly this conception of it was held by the best intelligences may be seen in those passages in Dante's works, both in his *Convito*, and in his dedicatory letter, sent with the *Paradiso* to Can Grande della Scala, in which he asserts the application of the doctrine to his own poems.

Yet already in Dante there begin to appear signs of a new manner of thinking and feeling about literature. In several cases in which he has to give an opinion about works of literary art, his criterion is not, as we might expect, the character and profitableness of the doctrine enshrined within them, but the beauty of the style in which they are written. It is a certain *dolce stil nuovo* that marks the difference between the group of poets to which he himself belongs and the earlier Sicilian poets, whose last important representative was Bonagiunta da Lucca. It was preoccupation with the question of style, of language, that prompted his treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (or *eloquio*). And, finally, in view of Giovanni Villani's characterization of Brunetto Latini, we can scarcely doubt that Dante refers to the latter's rhetorical influence upon himself, when he addresses to him the famous lines of the 15th *Inferno* :

Chè in la mente m'è fitta, ed or mi accora,
 La cara e buona imagine paterna
 Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora
 M'insegnavate come l'uom s'eterna.

That man makes his name deathless by noble utterance, by eloquence—that was the lesson of Brunetto Latini to Dante. And, had Dante but known it, here was an idea that was to act as a solvent of that whole body of literary doctrine which had accumulated during the Middle Ages—doctrine about which he himself had never had a serious doubt.

Before Dante died, the man had already nearly attained manhood who was to seize upon this idea, utter it in a thousand pleasing forms, impose it upon his contemporaries, and establish it as an indubitable truth for many succeeding generations. This man was Francesco Petrarca, the first clear-eyed student of antiquity, the first of the humanists, and, as he has been called, the first modern man. In him was first thoroughly realized that profound change in the whole conception and theory of the nature and object of literature, which is one of the best examples we have of the changes the human spirit

must inevitably from time to time pass through in its treatment of its dearest intellectual interests.

It is not my purpose to dwell upon the characteristics of Petrarch or of the great movement which he initiated, and which we have been in the habit of calling, with some exaggeration of pride in the modern world, the new-birth, the Renaissance. I desire simply to point out how distinct and in many ways limited a theory of literature is implied by that word *eloquentia*, which Petrarch so incessantly uses, and which he appeals to as the ultimate criterion in forming his literary judgments. I can think of no passage in all the books of the Renaissance that lights up the literary character of that movement as does Petrarch's brief discussion in his *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* [II, p. 466] of the comparative merits of Plato and Aristotle—a passage in which he accounts for his depreciation of *il maestro di color che sanno*, on the ground that *in libris tamen ejus qui ad nos venerunt, sane certa fides eloquentiae vestigium nullum est*. We must, of course, guard ourselves carefully from misinterpretation of Petrarch's conception of *eloquentia*. On the one hand, there certainly lingered in his mind not a few remnants of the mediaeval notion of literary form as a veil for deeper, half-disclosed meanings beneath. On the other hand, he cannot too often reiterate his faith that literature must be of profit to life, that it must be morally uplifting, that it must contribute to the development of *humanitas* in society. And yet it remains true that in his thought literature is essentially *eloquentia*, is art, is style; and that to this quality it chiefly owes its efficacy for good.

And the chief work of the humanists, of Petrarch's successors in Italy, in the field of letters, was to establish this idea. It was for this that they toiled at the resuscitation of antiquity. It was for this that they reformed their own literary style. It was for this that they labored at the perfecting of the Italian tongue. *Eloquentia* alone could give immortal fame, and the matter of books was thought to avail little, if they

lacked this supreme quality of manner. Even the most scabrous of subjects, the foulest diseases, the basest scandals, the most indecent scurrilities, might be treated with universal approval and applause, by him who had the secret of *eloquentia*. And when humanism passed from Italy to the rest of Europe, one of the earliest signs of its appearance in a new country was a sudden preoccupation of the writers of that country with style. What a place in the literary history of France, for example, has the question of the language. As one turns the pages of the famous manifesto of the Pléiade, the first group of French writers in whom the Renaissance appears triumphant—I mean, of course, Joachim du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise*—one finds hardly any other concern than this. Is the French tongue fit for eloquence? Can it be made to compare in this respect with Greek and Latin? How can it be perfected in this regard? These are practically the only questions du Bellay discusses. It is absolutely the same story with Malherbe. And, as for Boileau, even if he does lay down the famous rule that

Rien n'est beau que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable,

it is still clear that the critic's interest and aim is the *beau*, rather than the *vrai*. And so it continues with the French critics and literary theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. So also it is with no inconsiderable part of them in the nineteenth.

Nor is the case different with the other nations that felt strongly the Renaissance influence—and this means all the chief literary nations of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany and England. In the last two, to be sure, the sudden violence of the Reformation interfered with the quiet and continuous development of the idea of eloquence that we see in France. And yet no one can study the Elizabethans without recognizing that by them too literature as such was conceived as largely a matter of style. In short, all over

Europe the Renaissance brought about and fixed for many generations one and the same general attitude of mind towards letters, one and the same criterion of excellence in them, one and the same estimate of the chief source of edification to be obtained from them. When in 1736 the excellent Archbishop Fontanini brought out the first bibliography of Italian literature and called it *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana*, his mere title summed up a whole great chapter in the history of literary study and criticism. And Bouterweck, when he named his well-known work *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredtsamkeit* (1801 ff.), affirmed the same theory of the quintessential quality of his material.

So with unanimous voice the Renaissance pronounced literature to be eloquence, just as the Middle Ages had pronounced it to be allegory. The histories of literature were histories of eloquence in this or that tongue, the professors of literature were professors of eloquence, the critics of literature were samplers and tasters of eloquence. Nor is this view yet abandoned by the expositors of literature. Not to mention those French critics of the École Normale, whom the Germans so scornfully dub *belletristen*, what is that "grand style" which Matthew Arnold tells us is the one important thing to seek for in literature, if not the *eloquentia* of Petrarch?

And when this critic tells us to remember and to use as touchstones of poetic excellence Dante's verse:

E la sua voluntate à nostra pace,
and Chaucer's:

O martyr soded in virginitée,

as well as those Homeric passages he loved so well, does he bid us approach literature in any different spirit from Clément Marot, when he states in the preface of his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that he has *jété l'œil sur les livres latins, dont la gravité des sentences, et le plaisir de la lecture . . . m'ont espris mes esprits, mené ma main, et amusé ma muse?*

Nay, when Lowell, in an address to this very Association but five years ago, spoke of genius in literature as that "insoluble ingredient which kindles, lights, inspires and transmits impulsion to other minds, wakens energies in them hitherto latent, and makes them startlingly aware that they too may be parts of the controlling purpose of the world"—when Lowell thus spoke of genius, I say, was he not in real truth thinking of that 'god in us,' imagined by the humanists as by the ancients, who is the inspirer of eloquence, the suggester of the rare and irresistible word?

In spite of these evidences of the persistence to our own time of the Renaissance conception of literature, however, there are no less certain evidences, throughout the nineteenth century, of increasing hesitation to accept it as complete and final, of doubt whether it indicates to us the best that is to be found in literature. Naturally, it was Romanticism that first gave rise to these doubts and hesitations. No inconsiderable part of the romanticists, to be sure, sought in their revolutionary doctrine simply a new form of eloquence. Such was the case with the fantastic romanticists like Tieck in Germany, and with the rhetorical romanticists like Victor Hugo in France. With others, however, the case was different. Some, like Uhland, sought in works of literature evidence of a more or less complete expression of the creative and constructive energies of the human spirit, and prized them accordingly. Romanticists of this class turned to the Middle Ages, because they found in this period both individuals and society as a whole more freely imagining new things and bringing them to realization, than was the case in later centuries. And to such critics perfection of expression, eloquence, seemed of quite secondary importance. Other Romanticists still found literature chiefly interesting as the utterance of racial or national feeling; and the mere substitution of the phrase 'national-literature' for 'eloquence' in the titles of literary histories indicates a revolution in the method of approach to literature and the study of it. By these innovations the

traditional theory of the function of literature was seriously shaken. And as a further sign of the change the honored locations 'eloquence' and 'belles-lettres' began to fall into disuse, and gradually into contempt.

But romanticism carried in its bosom, unsuspected at first, a still more dangerous enemy of the old order of things—science. For the chief characteristic of science is that it concerns itself not with the manner, but with the matter of things; and just in proportion as attention has been more directed to the matter of literature, has the Renaissance conception of it as *eloquentia* come to seem insufficient and of doubtful value. At first, to be sure, the new literary science busied itself mainly with externals. It adopted the traditional humanistic methods of studying literature, endeavoring only to make them more systematic and more precise. It constituted texts, accumulated information about books and their authors, cleared up doubtful points of literary history or of grammar, sought to obtain as large a body of facts about literature as possible. Above all it undertook the investigation of language upon a scale never before dreamed of. And in this last field it first began to realize that the traditional objects of study were hopelessly inadequate. To the man of the Renaissance the whole interest of language lay in its capacity for eloquence; and when he studied it, as in his Accademia della Crusca or his Académie française, he was thinking only of perfecting it to this end. The man of science, on the other hand, found in language one of the most important phenomena of universal nature, and studied it that he might understand it as such. In dealing with literature itself, however, the man of science has been much slower in getting his bearings—slower, but none the less surely working towards a new point of view. And one of the chief signs of the coming change is the greater and greater reluctance he shows to deal with what is often called the literary side of literature. Many and harsh complaints are made about him for this, and he is charged with neglecting that which alone makes the study of literature

worth while. But the real truth is that he is silent, because he does not yet know what to say. He sees the insufficiency of what it has been customary to say, but he does not discern with clearness the sure and adequate thing that is to be substituted for it. The conception of literature has to be transformed as the conception of language has been transformed; and when this transformation has been accomplished, we may properly blame the man of science, if he fails to understand and interpret the new doctrine.

But in the meantime, as I have before stated, we see on all sides signs of doubt and hesitation as to the true line of approach to literature, as to the most profitable method of studying it. On the one hand, we have the men of science, sure of their linguistics but uncertain of their aesthetics, treating literature as a *corpus vile* for linguistic illustration. On the other hand, we have the representatives (often very imperfect ones) of the older tradition clamoring for the so-called literary teaching of literature, and endeavoring to win us to aesthetic appreciations, the reading of which causes a weary weight of doubt and distrust to settle upon our spirits. From time to time, also, we have projects for a more satisfactory method of literary study and criticism. Such, for example, was the essay of the brilliant Hellenist, Prof. Gildersleeve, entitled *Grammar and Aesthetics*, published some ten years since in the *Princeton Review*. In this essay, after speaking of what he rightly calls "the widespread distrust as to the ultimate value of all the aesthetic criticism of the day, whether sympathetic or other," Prof. Gildersleeve suggests that we return to the methods of the Alexandrian grammarians. "As an art," he says, "grammar entered largely into antique aesthetic criticism. While we may consider this study tedious in itself and futile in its aim as a regulative art, there is much to be learned from the old rhetorical use of grammar as an *organon* of aesthetic appreciation. The ancient rhetorician took into account phonetics, word-formation, syntax, periodology, all from a purely subjective point of view. Now all these matters fall under the obser-

vation of the scientific grammarian, all are subjected to rigid measurement and computation. We know the proportions in which different vowel-sounds appear in given monuments of literature; we know what sequences, what combinations of sounds certain languages will tolerate, the emergence and the disappearance of such and such terminations, the growth and limit of case use, tense use, the extent of section, the member, and period; and while it is not proposed to make a mathematical aesthetic on the basis of grammar, it may be possible to remove some part of criticism out of the range of mere sensibility and opulent phraseology." Such is Prof. Gildersleeve's proposed method of studying literature; and it should be added that something like it is already in actual use in this country and abroad. There are well-known teachers whose pupils are even now at work counting and tabulating the color-words, the sound-words, the nature-words employed by this or that poet,—to say nothing of the rhyme-varieties, and other metrical and grammatical peculiarities.

Free from mere sensibility and opulent phraseology such a method of study certainly is; and yet it seems to have a vice no less serious than these. It fixes our attention upon things we do not greatly care to know about, and leaves us in the dark as to all the great and vital concerns of literature.

But this is not the only notable suggestion of a more scientific method of studying literature that we have had of late. Such a method has recently been proposed in France by the well-known critic, M. Brunetière. And his plan is to turn to the natural sciences for aid, borrowing from them the conception that has in our time so profoundly affected their development,—the conception of evolution. M. Brunetière is, however, not the first to seek help from the sciences of nature. Taine had done the same thing, striving to interpret the romantic doctrine of national literatures by means of the supposed scientific principle of determinism. But Taine's *History of English Literature* is by universal consent a failure, and I suppose that there is not at this moment a single eminent

student of literature in the world who is practically employing his method. M. Brunetière's suggestion, however, seems at first sight to have more to recommend it. For one thing, the doctrine of evolution is a much more generally accepted doctrine than that of determinism, and is far from involving such sweeping assumptions. But when we examine more closely the works in which M. Brunetière has attempted to give a practical illustration of his idea, we can hardly avoid a feeling of disappointment and almost of deception practiced upon us. For his *Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature française* and his *Évolution de la poésie lyrique en France au XIX^e siècle*, though indisputably they contain many excellent things, contain nothing about evolution except in their titles and introductions. Even had M. Brunetière really succeeded, however, in cutting himself loose from the past of French aesthetic criticism, and in seriously embarking upon the project he so valorously announced, we may fairly doubt the profitableness of his results. For as yet we have no right to apply the doctrine of evolution to literature at all. At the best it is at present an analogy, and I believe a very useful one—the more so since it leads us constantly to remember that in literature nothing is fixed or permanent, but that everything, both materials and forms, is undergoing incessant change. That the law of this change, however, is the law of evolution we do not yet know; nay, with that other analogy of language before us, we may rather doubt whether it will prove to be the case that it is. At any rate, it is little likely that the premature adoption of the doctrine, even as a working hypothesis, would lead to useful and permanent results.

But there is still another suggestion of a more adequate method of studying and criticising literature—a suggestion that does not appear to have emanated from a single scholar, but seems rather unperceived to have embodied itself in a phrase, and launched itself into the world. This phrase is 'Comparative Literature,' and when I have pronounced it, I have at last reached the subject which this paper purports to

discuss. I fear I shall have seemed to many to make my prologue long—longer than the poem—a procedure that no art of poetry could be found to justify. And yet, though I have done this, it has been with a purpose. I have not wished to-day to enter into the details of the comparative method of studying literature, but rather to bring out with distinctness what I consider to be the relation of the very conception of such a method to the traditional conceptions on the subject, and to other conceptions that have lately been advanced. If I shall have done this, and if I shall have further briefly indicated the true and reasonable hope and promise of such a conception, I shall have accomplished all that I could wish.

The phrase 'Comparative Literature' is afloat, I say, and indeed seems to be constantly acquiring greater currency. There are already journals of comparative literature; and, what is more significant, there are professors of comparative literature. And yet, if we seek for a definition of the new term, we shall find it amazingly difficult to obtain. No doubt, it was the fruitful development of the comparative method in the natural sciences, as in comparative anatomy, and in language studies, as in comparative grammar, that inspired the desire for a similar employment of it in the study of literature. But any consensus of intelligent opinion as to the exact manner of employing it can hardly up to the present time be found. There are some who appear to think that comparative literature means comparing literary works, whether in one or in many languages, with a view to determining their relative excellences. This view, at its best, is essentially the same as Matthew Arnold's, when he tells us that criticism is "a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world." But the difficulty of this method obviously consists in the fact that, until we have a race of men with no moral or spiritual prepossessions whatever, we cannot have and ought not to have a disinterested estimate of the comparative excel-

lence of what has been known and thought in the world. Even more open to the charge of being merely subjective in its application and temporary in its results, is the comparative method, imagined by others, which selects as the object of its investigations the creative intentions and the aesthetic procédés that appear in the great monuments of literature.

A decidedly different conception of comparative literature is that which gives as its task the investigation and classification of the different forms which literary or imaginative themes or motives have assumed in the literatures of various peoples; as well as the study of the origins of these themes and of the manner of their diffusion. In this sense Benfey's famous introduction to his translation of the *Pantchatantra*, in which he studied the diffusion of the Indian beast-fables in the Occident, was comparative literature. So also was the survey of the various forms of the epic tales that gather about the figure of Charlemagne, which M. Gaston Paris gave in his *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*. Comparative literature in this sense, though within narrower field, were the studies of the brothers Grimm in the popular traditions of the Germanic peoples. And here, further, we must put the investigations of Prof. Child upon the English and Scottish Ballads, as a monumental example of the same method. And yet it must be noted that all of these works, except the last, were produced before the notion of comparative literature had appeared at all, or at any rate before it had obtained real currency. The authors of them had not embarked upon investigations suggested by a general theory; they had simply followed each a given material, wherever it might lead him.

Each followed his material, wherever it might lead him—that is, each conformed himself to real facts in nature, and as a consequence attained results that at least do not sin from 'mere sensibility and opulent phraseology.' Others, moreover, have followed these scholars in the same or similar fields, and they, too, have succeeded in producing works free from these defects. But still more important is the fact that as the

number of these works increases, it is gradually becoming clear that here are studies that are to yield us a much richer fruit than has hitherto been supposed, and that are profoundly to modify our whole conception of the nature and function of literature.

Comparative literature in the sense I have just been describing is as yet undeveloped in theory; it is still extremely limited in practice. Many of those who have made the most important contributions to it, have done so with no clear understanding of what they were really bringing to pass. Urged on oftentimes merely by some blind instinct of erudition, they have labored at what they regarded as purely questions of origins, or bibliography, or technical literary history. And yet they have been coöperating to bring about a momentous change in the attitude of men's minds towards literature as a whole.

This change is exactly parallel with the change wrought by the comparative method in the study of language. For just as language ceased a generation ago to be regarded as chiefly interesting from the point of view of style, of eloquence, so now literature is ceasing to be thought of in these traditional terms. More and more it is coming to be seen that literature is one of the great provinces of universal nature, just as language is, and that the only really satisfactory way to study it, is to study it as such. Conceived thus, the phenomena of literature change immediately their relative importance and interest, they group themselves in new ways, they become indicative of new principles, more trustworthy than any that aesthetic criticism has ever succeeded in making out. From this point of view the study of literature ceases to be a search for classic examples of excellence in style, to the end that these may be parted from the mass of other books and contemplated in and for themselves. It ceases also to be a search for those works that are preëminent for moral elevation, or intellectual energy, or any other single quality, however great its importance from the point of view of practical living. The

zoölogist does not allow himself to be influenced in his studies by the popular preference for the perfected forms of life over the obscure and undeveloped. He studies all, and from all learns. The student of language, too, derives no less light from the imperfect and unfixed speech of the untutored man than from the most eloquent discourse. In the same way, the student of literature begins to see that he also may more profitably study the whole body of the phenomena of literature, great and small, eloquent and rude, noble and ignoble (for, as the Spanish proverb says, there are all kinds in the garden of the Lord)—he may more profitably do this, I say, than spend his time in subjective theorizings about the true and the beautiful as manifested in literary master-pieces.

The moment one faces the study of literature in this spirit, he sees at once that the traditional methods of procedure are little calculated to serve his ends. These methods, furthermore, imply presuppositions that are altogether uncertain, or even in many cases certainly false. Such, for example, is the famous hypothesis of an universal human nature, an universal reason, the same in all the races of men, in all ages, in all the regions of the earth—nature and reason which it is the business of true eloquence to reproduce, stripped of the temporary and the accidental. Take away this supposition, and what becomes of the critical method of Boileau and of all those who hark back to Boileau? And yet in the light of the phenomena of literature in their entirety, how uncertain a principle does this become! What terrible limitations it requires! How misleading are its implications!

To examine, then, the phenomena of literature as a whole, to compare them, to group them, to classify them, to enquire into the causes of them, to determine the results of them—this is the true task of comparative literature. But, as I can not too often repeat, the methods by which these processes are to be carried out are as yet far from being systematically formulated. Certain objective points, however, can already be discerned. It is clear, for example, that through the inves-

tigation of three questions in particular, we are to be advanced greatly on our way—I mean the question of literary origins, the question of literary development, and the question of literary diffusion. Upon the first of these questions much has already been done, though for the most part unconsciously and without real appreciation of the nature of the problem. We cannot forget, for example, that the famous question which for nearly a hundred years has agitated the classical scholars, the Homeric question, is in reality but part of this larger question. The classical scholars in general do not yet know this; but that it is so is entirely clear to anyone who has followed recent investigations into the origins and history of epic poetry among the various peoples that have had such poetry. Pio Rajna, in his *Origini dell' epopea francese*, is in reality discussing the Homeric question as much as the question of the origin of the mediaeval *Chansons de Geste*. So also are the students of Germanic heroic traditions, like the Grimms in the past generation, and Müllenhoff in ours. So also are the Krohns, father and son, and Comparetti in their investigations of the subject-matter of the Finnish *Kalevala*. Indeed, the time is already in sight when no one will think of uttering a word on the Homeric question, who has not first familiarized himself with the phenomena attending the birth of the Indian *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyana*, the Persian *Schah-Nameh*, the Germanic sages and epics, the French *Chansons de Geste*, the Finnish epic songs, the Celtic heroic poems and traditions, and all the lesser manifestations of epic tendency, whether in romances, ballads, folk-tales, or larger poems. And let it not be supposed that such a method of study will contribute merely to the settling of the traditional Homeric question. It is comparatively a small matter whether the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the work of the same poet, or what are the constituent parts of each and how put together. The important matter is, what is epic poetry? What is its true function? What characteristics, imaginative, ethical, and rhetorical, are the necessary consequences of a perfect fulfillment of this

function? For the student who approaches the matter with these questions in his mind, though it may and I believe will remain true for him that the Homeric poems are the most perfect examples of epic poetry we have, the determination of this judgment will rest upon grounds quite other than the traditional ones. And for such a student even the most famous discussions of epic poetry in the past, Voltaire's *Essai sur la poésie épique*, Boileau's remarks, Joachim du Bellay's treatment of *le longue poème*, the opinions of Quintilian and Horace, and even the views of Aristotle himself in his *Poetics*, will seem empiric and superficial, and of slight practical or theoretical value.

Similar results will attend the scientific investigation of both the other main questions I have suggested, that of literary development and that of literary diffusion. By the first of these, I mean the process by which is gradually elaborated the material out of which literary masterpieces are made. Thus we can follow the slow amassing of the matter, both structural and imaginative, which the great romantic poets and novelists—Ariosto, Spenser, Cervantes, to mention only great names—at last found fit to their hands,—tracing it from the songs of the primitive Germanic scop and Celtic bard, through the poems of the romance jongleur, whether brief, like the Spanish ballads, or long, like the *Chansons de Geste*, till at last it is ready for the masters. And as we watch the ever-varying forms the material takes, as we see the unceasing intrusion and extrusion of social and moral ideas, of types of poetic appeal, of artistic and rhetorical expedients, we realize more adequately than mere aesthetic criticism can ever make us, the true character of all poetic creation.

Another example of the same process I may mention is the elaboration of the material and manner of the Christian heroic poem—that poem of which Milton has given us the supreme examples. Who can follow this from its origin in the fourth and fifth centuries, in the Latin poems of Juvenius, Sedulius, Avitus and others, through the Old English, Old Saxon, and

Old Frankish Bible epics, through the more numerous similar poems in many languages in the later Middle Ages, through the Renaissance poems and dramas, whether in Latin or in the vulgar tongues, up to Milton, and indeed on to Klopstock—who, I say, can do this without obtaining a wholly new view of the true character of the *Paradise Lost* and the *Paradise Regained*?

I will not dwell at length upon the results to be obtained from the study of the question of literary diffusion, though they promise to be no less significant. The investigations of scholars like M. Gaston Paris upon the way in which the poetic traditions of the Celtic race became current among the other peoples of Europe, and upon the modifications thus caused in the literatures of those peoples, are as good proof of this as I can give. Brilliant essays here, also, are several studies upon the diffusion of Provençal and French literary forms in other countries—for example, Gaspary's *Sicilianische Dichterschule*, and the recent introduction to an edition of the lyrics of King Dionysius of Portugal, by a member of this Association, Prof. Lang. And, finally, what lover of English literature can fail to see a rich field for such study in the question, as yet barely entered upon, of the obligations of the Elizabethans to Italy, France, and Spain?

I will not prolong the list of illustrations of the lines along which the comparative method of studying literature may hopefully and profitably be applied. No doubt, there are many more than I have indicated; indeed several crowd in upon my mind as I speak. I shall do better, however, to pass them over, for the sake of making myself a little clearer upon a point that may well have perplexed some of my hearers, in connection with what I have been saying. I feel sure that the question must have been pressing upon some in this audience, whether such a method as I have been outlining does not after all neglect that very real something, *eloquentia*, art, style, which has hitherto been regarded as the very essence and inner being of literature? Does it not without due reason

throw away the individual artist, from whose brain the literary masterpiece has proceeded? And is this not as dangerous an error as to overestimate the artist and his art? The doubt is a natural one, and for that reason I desire to make myself a little clearer on this point. I do indeed believe that no literary masterpiece, whether as substance or as style, can be properly regarded as the peculiar and individual creation of the man that brings it to the birth; just as I believe that no man's language is his own personal creation. And yet who can fail to see that both in language and in larger creation the modifying action of the individual is profound? And who can fail to see, further, that at all times the appeal of literature to men has largely consisted in that very *eloquentia*, whose universal sway I have been trying to help bring to an end. Here, then, are very real forces ever at work to make literature such as we see it and know it. As such they must be prized and studied.

Nay, I shall go even farther, and say that in my opinion there can be no greater mistake than to use the comparative method with beginners in the study of literature, substituting its intellectual claims for the natural appeal of eloquence and beauty. We have learned that we must teach elementary grammar by the old empiric methods, and that comparative linguistic science is but a confusion to the untrained mind. Assuredly it is so for the student of literature. Let him, then, be made familiar at the start with the more accessible literary masterpieces, those whose greatness is attested by that universal feeling of men which is a safe guide in any practical matter. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, says Augustine; and within limits the rule is true. But when the student has gone far enough to be entitled to know what those masterpieces really are, how they came into being, and what the sanction of their greatness is, then let him approach them with all the appliances of the comparative method in his hands.

A. R. MARSH.

VI.—JOHN WESLEY'S TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN HYMNS.¹

John Wesley's twenty-nine translations of German hymns were originally published in five different collections, and in the order following :

I. COLLECTION || OF || PSALMS || AND || HYMNS. ||
[Decoration.] || CHARLES-TOWN, || Printed by LEWIS
TIMOTHY. 1737. || — Pp. 72.

1. O God, thou bottomless Abyss, p. 15.

8 st. of 12 l. Translation of Ernst Lange's "O Gott, du tieffe sonder grund!" Original in 10 st. of 14 l. is in the Herrnhut Gesang-Buch 1731, No. 16. Wesley omits st. 6, 9 in translation. He later altered his tr. by adding an iambic foot at the close of the 10th and 12th l. in each st. This longer form first publ. in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, p. 161.

2. Jesu, to thee my Heart I bow, p. 26.

6 st. of 4 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Reiner bräutigam meiner seelen." Orig. in 30 st. of 4 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 982. W. omits st. 2-9, 13-15, 18-30.

3. O Jesu, Source of calm Repose, p. 38.

6 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. A. Freylinghausen's "Wer ist wohl, wie du." Orig. in 14 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 42. W. omits st. 2, 6, 7, 9-12, 14. A tr. of st. 12 of the orig. is inserted as st. 4 in Wesley's Hymn 8.

4. Thou Lamb of God, thou Prince of Peace, p. 51.

6 st. of 4 l. Tr. of C. F. Richter's "Stilles Lamm und Frieden-Fürst." Orig. in 8 st. of 5 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 989. W. omits st. 3, 7.

5. My Soul before thee prostrate lies, p. 56.

12 st. of 4 l. Tr. of C. F. Richter's "Hier legt mein sinn sich vor dir nieder." Orig. in 12 st. of 4 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1037.

II. A || COLLECTION || OF || PSALMS || AND || HYMNS
|| LONDON || Printed in the Year MDCCXXXVIII. || — Pp. 81.

¹ Important discussions of this subject occur in the following works: J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, New York, 1892; W. P. Burgess, *Wesleyan Hymnology*, London, 1845; D. Creamer, *Methodist Hymnology*, New York, 1848; G. J. Stevenson, *The Methodist Hymn Book*, London, [1888].

6. Thou, Jesu, art our King, p. 36.

13 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. Scheffler's "Dich, Jesu, loben wir." Orig. in 13 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 149.

7. Thou hidden Love of God, whose Height, p. 51.

8 st. of 6 l. Tr. of G. Tersteegen's "Verborgne Gottes-Liebe du." Orig. in 10 st. of 7 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1088. W. omits st. 4, 5. Slightly altered in next edition, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, p. 78.

8. O Thou, to whose all Searching Sight, p. 55.

6 st. of 4 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Seelen-Bräutigam, o du Gottes-Lamm." Orig. in 11 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 743. W.'s tr. is very free, omitting st. 3-9 of orig., and inserting as a fourth Eng. st. a tr. of st. 12 of Freylinghausen's "Wer ist wohl, wie du." See Hymn 3.

9. All Glory to th' Eternal Three, p. 62.

6 st. of 4 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Schau von deinem thron." Orig. in 6 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 561.

10. Shall I, for fear of feeble Man, p. 65.

10 st. of 4 l. Tr. of J. J. Winkler's "Solt ich aus furcht für menschen-kindern." Orig. in 17 st. of 4 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 358. W. omits st. 4, 5, 8-10, 16, and condenses 6, 7 into one st. [4].

III. HYMNS || AND || SACRED POEMS. || Published by || JOHN WESLEY, M. A. || Fellow of *Lincoln College, Oxford*; || AND || CHARLES WESLEY, M. A. || Student of *Christ-Church, Oxford*. || [Quotation, Col. iii. 16.] *LONDON*: || Printed by WILLIAM STRAHAN; and sold by || [etc.] . . . || MDCCXXXIX. || — Pp. 223, pref. x.

11. O Thou, who all things canst controul, p. 12.

6 st. of 4 l. Tr. of S. G. Gmelin's "Ach treib aus meiner seel." Orig. in 21 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 501. W. omits st. 7-21.

12. Jesu, whose Glory's streaming Rays, p. 99.

6 st. of 8 l. Tr. of W. C. Dessler's "Mein Jesu, dem die Seraphinen." Orig. in 8 st. of 8 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 535. W. omits st. 7, 8.

13. Monarch of All, with lowly Fear, p. 116.

8 st. of 4 l. Tr. of J. A. Freylinghausen's "Monarche aller ding, dem alle Seraphinen." Orig. in 11 st. of 4 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 7. W. omits st. 3, 4, 8.

14. Commit thou all thy Griefs, p. 141.

16 [half-] stanzas of 4 l., equivalent to 8 st. of orig. Tr. of P. Gerhardt's "Befiehl du deine wege." Orig. in 12 st. of 8 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 53. W. omits st. 5, 9, 10, 11.

15. Jesu, thy boundless Love to me, p. 156.
16 st. of 6 l. Tr. of P. Gerhardt's "O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht."
Orig. in 16 st. of 9 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 37.
16. O God, of Good th' unfathom'd Sea, p. 159.
8 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. Scheffler's "Du unvergleichlich gut." Orig. in 8 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1165.
17. Jesu, thy Light again I view, p. 179.
7 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. Lange's "O Jesu, süßes licht." Orig. in 8 st. of 8 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 619. W. omits st. 7.
18. O God of God[s], in whom combine, p. 182.
6 st. of 6 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Herz der göttlichen natur." Orig. in 7 st. of 8 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1143. W. omits st. 7 and arranges in the following order: 1, 2, 3, 6, 4, 5.
19. Lo God is here! Let us adore, p. 188.
6 st. of 6 l. Tr. of G. Tersteegen's "Gott ist gegenwärtig." Orig. in 8 st. of 10 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1139. W. omits st. 7, 8.
20. O Thou, whom Sinners love, whose Care, p. 189.
3 st. of 8 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Verliebter in die sünderschaft." Orig. in 4 st. of 8 l., in HGB. 1737, No. 1072. W. omits st. 4.
21. Eternal Depth of Love Divine, p. 195.
4 st. of 8 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Du ewiger Abgrund der seligen liebe." Orig. in 8 st. of 10 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 19. W. omits st. 3, 5, 6, 8.
22. Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower, p. 198.
7 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. Scheffler's "Ich will dich lieben, meine stärke." Orig. in 8 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 1170. W. omits st. 2.

IV. HYMNS || AND || SACRED POEMS. || [Etc., as above.] || LONDON: || Printed by W. STRAHAN; [etc.] || . . . MDCCXL. || — Pp. 207. Pref. xi.

23. Extended on a cursed Tree, p. 34.
9 st. of 4 l. Tr. of P. Gerhardt's "O Welt sich hier dein leben." Orig. in 16 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 228. W. condenses st. 1 and 2 into one, and omits st. 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15.
24. I Thirst, Thou wounded Lamb of God, p. 74.
8 st. of 4 l. Freely tr. from four originals, all of which appeared in Appendix vii to the HGB. 1735, as follows: W.'s st. 1, 2 are based on st. 1, 3 of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Ach! mein verwundter Fürste!" (No. 1197.) His st. 3-6 on st. 2-5 of J. Nitschmann's "Du blutiger Versühner!" (No. 1210.) His st. 7 on st. 1, 2 of Zinzendorf's "Der Gott von unserm bunde" (No. 1201.) His st. 8 on st. 14 of Anna Nitschmann's "Mein König deine liebe" (No. 1233).

25. Now I have found the Ground, wherein, p. 91.

6 st. of 6 l. Tr. of J. A. Rothe's "Ich habe nun den grund gefunden." Orig. in 10 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 532. W. omits st. 3, 7-9.

26. Holy Lamb, who Thee receive, p. 93.

8 st. of 4 l. Tr. of A. S. Dober's "Du heiliges kind." Orig. in 10 st. of 4 [5?] l., in Appendix iii to the HGB. 1735, No. 1046. W. omits st. 8, 9.

27. High Praise to Thee, All-gracious God! p. 168.

7 st. of 6 l. Tr. of L. A. Gotter's "Sei hochgelobt, barmherts'ger Gott." Orig. in 16 st. of 6 l., in HGB. 1731, No. 36. W. omits st. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, and combines st. 2, 5 to make his st. 2.

28. Jesu, Thy Blood and Righteousness, p. 177.

24 st. of 4 l. Tr. of N. L. v. Zinzendorf's "Christi blut und gerechtigkeit." Orig. in 33 st. of 4 l., in Appendix viii to HGB. 1735, No. 1253. W. omits st. 6, 11, 13, 22, 23, 26-28, and combines st. 24, 25 to make his st. 19.

V. HYMNS || AND || Sacred POEMS. || [Etc., as above. Quotation from Titus ii, 11-14.] || *BRISTOL*: Printed and sold by *Felix Farley*, || [etc., 5 lines]. . . . MDCCXLII. || — Pp. 304 [Pref. 6].

29. High on His Everlasting Throne, p. 14.

13 st. of 8 l. Free tr. of A. G. Spangenberg's "Der König ruht, und schauet doch." Orig. in 8 st. of 10 l., in Appendix i to the HGB. 1735, No. 1004. W.'s st. 1, 2 are expanded from st. 1; his st. 3, 4, from st. 2; 5, 6, from 3; 7, 8 correspond to 4, 5 in the orig.; 9, 10 are expanded from 6; 11 corresponds to 7; 12, 13 expanded from 8.

The beginning and progress of Wesley's interest in German can be closely followed. At the age of 32 he sailed with Governor Oglethorpe as a missionary clergyman of the Church of England for the colony of Georgia. On board the ship was a group of 26 German Moravian colonists. Three days after embarking, namely, on October 17, 1735, Wesley began to learn German in order to converse with these people.¹ Before the ship got away from the English coast, he began to order his common way of living regularly, usually learning German from 9 to 12 in the morning, and joining with the Germans in their public service at 7 in the evening. By January, 1736,

¹ *Wesley's Journal. Wesley's Works.* N. Y.: Mason and Lane, 1840. III, 14.

he was able to converse freely with these people. February 6, 1736, they landed near Savannah, and the next day Wesley met Spangenberg, the well-known Moravian pastor, and spent several days in conversing with him about his experiences, and about the Moravian church at Herrnhut. In the archives at Herrnhut I found an interesting document,¹ hitherto unpublished, John Wesley's first letter to Count Zinzendorf:

Comiti de Zinzendorf

Johannes Wesley

Salutem in Christo Sempiternam

Graviora Tua Negotia literis meis interpellare non auderem, nisi Te crederem Illius esse Discipulum, qui linum ardens non extingui vult, neque calumum quassatum confringi. Id verò quum persuasum habeam, maximopere Te obtestor, ut et Tuis et Ecclesiae tecum peregrinantis precibus Deo commender, in verà spiritûs Paupertate, Mansuetudine, Fide, ac Amore Dei Proximique erudiendus. Et siquando Tibi paululum otii suppetat, breve illud Votum Deo offerre ne dedigneris, quod a Fratribus Tuis (Utinam et meis) Savannensibus saepius oblatum audiui,

Einen Helden muth
Der da Gut und Blut
Gern um deinet willen lasse
Und des fleisches lüste hasse
Gieb ihm, Höchstes Gut,
Durch dein theures Blut!

Savannae Mart. 15. V. S. 1736. *

This is the first specific allusion to a German hymn (it is from the original of Hymn 3) to be found in Wesley's writings.

On October 18, 1736 (one year and one day from the time when he began to learn the language), he records in his

¹ Rubric 13, A, No. 17.

journal:¹ "Finding there were several Germans at Frederica, who, not understanding the English tongue, could not join in our public service, I desired them to meet at my house; which they did every day at noon from thence forward. We first sung a German hymn; then I read a chapter in the New Testament; then explained it to them as well as I could. After another hymn, we concluded with prayer." Wesley's activities in Georgia, however, were chiefly those of a ritualistic English clergyman. It was doubtless during 1736 that he compiled the first hymn-book ever prepared for use in the Church of England. The existence of this book was unknown until a few years ago. Wesley's biographers had always been perplexed by a statement of his that he had published "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns" in 1736,² that is, while in America. About 1882 a little book entitled "Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charles-Town, Printed by Lewis Timothy. 1737." was found in a London book-store, and has since been reproduced in fac-simile.³ It does not seem impossible that other copies of this unique volume may be still in existence in the southern states. It is known that John and Charles Wesley went up to Charleston on July 31, 1736,⁴ and it is possible that he made the arrangements for publishing the book at that time. As it contains many typographical mistakes, it seems probable that it was printed without Wesley's being able to read the proofs, and issued from the press early in 1737. The book makes no mention of its compiler, but the proofs of its being the work of Wesley amount to a complete demonstration. In this connection, it seems to have been entirely overlooked that among the twelve charges brought against Wesley at the farcical trial in Savannah, Aug. 22, 1737, for deviating from the principles and regulations of the Established Church, the third was that he had committed a grievance:

¹ *Works*, III, 32.

² Tyerman, I, 211.

³ Concerning Timothy (or Timothée) and his press, v. Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, 2, 155.

⁴ Moore's *Life of Wesley*, I, 285.

"By introducing into the church, and service at the altar, compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature."¹ This charge, which was ignored by the jurors, doubtless refers to the use of this collection and fixes a terminus for the time of its publication. The book contains 70 hymns, without mention of their authorship. 31 are from Isaac Watts, 6 from George Herbert, 10 are by members of the Wesley family, 5 are translations from the German by John Wesley, being the first of this class which he published. 10 I have been unable to identify, the remainder being by John Austin, Addison, and J. Broughton. The German translations make up Nos. 1-5 in our enumeration at the beginning of this paper. The only indication of their source is the superscription, "From the German." Wesley left Georgia for England at the end of 1737. In 1738 he was a regular member of the Moravian society in Fetter Lane, London, and under the guidance of its members came into a clear experience of conversion. Probably for the use of the members of this society, he published in London in 1738 a collection of *Psalms and Hymns*, likewise without any mention of names. This volume is also excessively rare, only three copies being known to exist. It contains 70 hymns (all, with the exception of one from Watts, quite different from those in the Charleston collection), including 5 more versions from the German. The first of these (our No. 6) indicates its origin by the title "Dich, Jesu, Loben Dir" [sic]. During 1738 Wesley made a journey to Herrnhut, to see in person "the Christians that love one another," and spent about two weeks among the Moravians there. In 1739 appeared the first edition of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, published by John and Charles Wesley. Twelve hymns from the German appear here for the first time, along with a reprint of all the previously published ten. In 1740 another independent volume, similarly entitled *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, was published in London, containing six new German translations, and no

¹ Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, 1, 155.

reprints. In 1742 a third independent *Hymns and Sacred Poems* appeared, containing the last (29th) of the series, this being the only translation from the German in the book.¹ After this Wesley translated no more from the German. His relations with the Moravians had become strained in 1739, and in 1740 a complete separation took place between the Moravian and Methodist societies in London. During the remainder of Wesley's long life, his use of German seems to have lapsed. The last instance of his practical employment of it seems to have been in preaching to German soldiers in their own tongue ("though I had discontinued it so long") at Newcastle, on November 3, 1745.² The five collections described have been made the basis of the present study. It will be proper to mention here the recent presentation, by Mr. William Deering, of the Jackson library of Methodism to the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston. Mr. Jackson, an English manufacturer, has for a lifetime made it his chief avocation to secure a complete bibliography of Methodism, resulting, doubtless, in the most perfect collection of original books, tracts and prints in existence, and affording an exhaustive supply of sources for the study of the Wesleyan movement.

In an essay on "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians,"³ Professor F. H. Hedge referred to five of these translations as "the favorites of our worshipping assemblies" and "precious contributions to our stock of devotional poetry," grouping them all under the title "Moravian," and failing to give Wesley credit. Professor Hedge is only so far right in giving them this title, in that Wesley became acquainted with the originals of all of them in Moravian collections. 24 were in the Herrnhut *Gesang-Buch* of 1731 (probably the book which

¹There is great confusion in citing the three volumes last mentioned, and their subsequent reprints. It is perfectly unilluminative, for instance, to refer to *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, second edition, unless one knows which *Hymns and Sacred Poems* is meant.

²Journal of this date.

³*Martin Luther and other Essays*. Boston, 1888, p. 38.

Wesley used on his voyage, and taken as the basis for this paper). 4 are derived from later appendices to the *Gesang-Buch* of 1735, one from the *Gesang-Buch* of 1737. The Moravians, however, did not altogether create their hymn-literature. The Moravian church of Zinzendorf was a development of the pietistic movement in the Lutheran church, and Zinzendorf drew very largely from this source. Thus, 14 of the 29 (original) hymns are from pietistic Lutheran hymnists, to wit: Paul Gerhardt 3, C. F. Richter 2, Freylinghausen 2, and one each from Dessler, Gotter, Ernst Lange, Joachim Lange, Rothe, Winkler, and Gmelin. The pietist of the Reformed Church (later, separatist), Tersteegen, furnished 2, the pietistic Roman Catholic Scheffler (Angelus Silesius) is the source of 3. Of hymns by Moravians, Wesley took from Spangenberg and Anna Dober each one, from Zinzendorf, alone, 6; one of the translations is a blending of parts of two hymns by Zinzendorf, one by Johann Nitschmann, and one by Anna Nitschmann.¹ Another contains an inserted stanza from Freylinghausen. These are the only cases of "contamination." The foregoing facts confirm the proposition, which could be argued from other grounds, that Methodism stands in very close relation to German pietism, and is, in some degree, the descendant of the work of Johann Arnd and his spiritual successors.

In none of the multitude of hymn books published during Wesley's lifetime were any of the German translations ascribed to him. There was formerly some contention about the matter. The argument for his authorship is convincing, and rests upon the following facts: (1) All of these hymns appeared first in books "published by John and Charles Wesley;" (2) There is no evidence that Charles Wesley ever used or understood German; (3) They do not occur in

¹At the present time centos of parts of different hymns, arranged to form a special connected service, are common in Moravian worship. I am inclined to think that Wesley made this hymn by translating from such a service.

the separate editions of Charles Wesley's hymns; (4) Charles Wesley's daughter averred that she had always understood that these versions were by her uncle; (5) John Wesley quotes one of these hymns in the original as early as 1736; (6) He was undoubtedly the compiler of the volume in which the first 5 of them appeared in 1737; (7) The letter is extant¹ in which Molther thanks John Wesley (1740) for having made, at his request, the English version of Rothe's hymn, beginning "Now I have found the Ground, wherein" (No. 25); (8) In his sermon on "Knowing Christ after the Flesh," dated 1789, Wesley says incidentally, in speaking of the Moravians, "I translated many of their hymns, for the use of our own congregations." The term "many" would hardly be applied to less than 29 hymns.

By their universal dispersion, these hymns hold a preëminent place among such translations. Psalm-singing was introduced into England from the direct influence of the circle of Luther and Melancthon. The Gospellers of the times of the reformation translated German hymns,—chiefly Miles Coverdale (1487–1569), all of whose [41] "Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes" have been identified with German originals, except five,—but we do not know that they ever became incorporated into the spiritual life of the people, and from this time the German influence ceased until Wesley drew from this rich source. The translations are not only used throughout the wide circle of Methodist adherents, but I find them in not less than 100 important collections, including all phases of religious confession, with the exception, as far as I have found, of the Roman Catholic. Outside of the Methodist group, the Church of England has made use of them in the hymnals of Madan, Kennedy, Maurice, Bickersteth and Thring; in the Sarum, Westminster Abbey, and Rugby hymn-books; in the widely-used publications of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge; in the Churchman's Altar Manual, and many other collections; they are represented in the stan-

¹Tyerman, 1, 297.

dard and special collections of the American Episcopalian, the Baptist, Moravian, Congregational, Swedenborgian, Lutheran, and Dutch Reformed churches; they occur, I believe, in all standard Unitarian collections. In many English collections in the first half of this century they are published anonymously or from false sources, as in those of Rippon, Montgomery and Bickersteth.

We proceed to notice these translations more carefully as regards form and content.

Wesley tends to simplicity of form, and, though the German originals employ a great variety of meters, and these at times very artificial, various cadences running throughout a stanza, or combined with each other within its limits, with many combinations of masculine and feminine rhyme, and mixtures of very long and very short lines,¹ he holds to his personal taste and to the genius of English hymnody, by confining himself to the strength of regular forms, and by using no feminine rhymes whatever. 24 are entirely in iambic tetrameter (long meter). Hymn 1 had originally (1737) the 10th and 12th line of each stanza an iambic trimeter, but in the edition of 1739 all the lines appear as iambic tetrameter. No. 26 is trochaic (7 sylls.); 14 is in short meter (iambic 3, 3, 4, 3); Hymn 20 is in common meter (iambic 4, 3, 4, 3); Hymn 6 combines iambic and trochaic cadences in a 6-line stanza. The stanzas of the originals average 6.72 lines in length,² of the translations 5.72. Aiming straight at the heart and substance of the original, Wesley ignores all petty artificialities and mere conceits, omitting, as we should expect, the acrostic form upon which is constructed Gerhardt's "Befehl du deine

¹ That Wesley's objection to this feature lay in his personal taste, and not merely in the necessities of English verse, is shown by his rejecting some of Charles Wesley's hymns on the same ground. Burgess, *Wesleyan Hymnology*, p. 73.

² In one case, the stanza-form of the original (No. 26) is somewhat doubtful. All the hymns are printed as solid prose in German. In the estimate, two half-stanzas in hymn 8 are reckoned as one stanza.

Wege." His characteristic terseness and neat compactness of style lead him to condense his material, which cannot surprise us when he deals with the work of Zinzendorf, who wrote over 2000 hymns, at times in a style of watery diffuseness, into which C. Wesley also sometimes fell in the course of his 6,500. All padding, meaningless epithets and cant phrases are avoided. Weaker stanzas, and those which simply repeat a foregoing idea, are cut out (cf. 21, 3). He abhors the broad amplification of a theological idea, which his prototypes so largely love (cf. 25). Gerhardt's "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben" shrinks from 16 stanzas of 6 lines each, to 9 stanzas of 4 lines. Only 5 of the original hymns are translated stanza for stanza. The average number of stanzas in the original is 12, in the translation 8. Only hymn 29, "High on His Everlasting Throne," shows the translation longer than the original. This hymn is peculiar, and was the last one published, namely, in 1742, after Wesley's complete separation from the Moravians. The original is Spangenberg's "Der König ruht," a specifically denominational hymn, which Wesley expanded in a manner most complimentary to the Brotherhood, doubtless as a tribute of personal obligation, consciously introducing the distinct reference:

Devoted to their Common LORD,
True Followers of the Bleeding Lamb;
By GOD belov'd, by Men abhor'd—
And HERNHUTH is the Fav'rite Name!

Usually—despite the condensation—the hymns correspond stanza for stanza without overlapping. In only one case, I believe, does W. change the order of stanzas. Hymn 18 has for 4, 5, 6 of the original, 5, 6, 4 in translation, the 7th stanza of the original having been omitted entirely, and Wesley's treatment of v. 5 making a better ending than verse 6. We notice omissions:—

(a) On theological grounds. Terms and phrases relating specifically to the constitution of the Moravian Brotherhood are eliminated, as: *der bestimmten ritterschaft*, 18, 6; *sich der*



brüderschaft geben, 18, 7; *der kirche*, 21, 7. On the same principle, in Zinzendorf's hymn (21) the lines in stanza 4:

dein Geist unterricht uns bey fröhlichen tagen,
dir etwas erhörlchs von brüdern zu sagen

appear

Thy Spirit still breathe into our Breast,
Fountain of Peace and Joy below!

A reference to chasing away evil spirits by the sign of the cross (28, 23) is omitted. Wesley is not so fond of introducing Satan as are the German hymn-writers. Notice omissions in 15, 4; 10, 8 and 16; 14, 5; 23, 5; 3, 10.

(b) On grounds of rhetoric and taste. Wesley had a well-developed British repugnance to the sensuous metaphors of certain forms of pietistic poetry. Long years after ceasing to study German he speaks of his translations in a sermon,¹ saying, "I am not sure that I have taken sufficient care to pare off every improper word or expression," but we can clearly trace this state of mind even as early as 1737. The second translation which Wesley published contained 30 stanzas in the original, but he only reproduced 6, for the obvious reason that the theme of Christ as bridegroom, announced in the opening line, "*Reiner bräutigam meiner seelen*," is carried out throughout the hymn, being treated with the utmost freedom and familiarity, some of the stanzas being repellent. Wesley omits every trace of this familiarity. Stanza 11, ll. 3 and 4 reads in the original:

Hirte! lass mich auf die weide,
da ich finde, was mir nützt.

The English has:

All hail, thou suffering, conquering God,
Now man shall live: for God hath died."

Twelve years later, Wesley's feelings in regard to this type of hymn led him to make a public attack upon those contained in the hymn-book published by James Hutton. The

¹ On Knowing Christ after the Flesh, 1789. Works³ 7, 293.

Moravians get most of the censure for this sort of expression, and the collection of Hutton certainly oversteps all conceivable limits of decency and sanity, but it is only fair to bear in mind that they found abundant warrant for it in Gerhardt and his prototype St. Bernhard, and that the everywhere-known "*O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*" is a member of a series which is of one piece with the most vivid Moravian imagery. In hymn 20, 3, the words *wir küssen deiner nägel loch* fall out in the English version. In 12, 4 we have for *glaubenskuss*, "arms of faith;" st. 2 for *braut*, "love;" 22, 5 for *süsser mund*, "enlivening voice," and similar cases without number. Commonplace, prosaic, trivial or coarse expressions, and overloaded metaphorical language, are all foreign to the translator's taste, as 15, 11:

mich seuffzen macht und heulen,
 am creutz als wie ein dieb
 und mörder da gehangen, 15, 5. Cf. 18, 2.

More reverent and dignified than

du hast dir was schlechtes zum lustspiel erlesen (21, 1)

is:

How vast Thy Love, how great Thy Grace!

Cf. 15, 9: so lauff ich mit den füssen,

and

So shall I run and never tire.

14, 6: dich aus der hôle
 mit grossen gnaden rücken,

is developed into:

Thro' Waves, and Clouds and Storms
 He gently clears thy Way.

Wesley's hand fails him once in this respect. Being led by his predilection for the powerful Hebrew imagery, he gratuitously introduces at the beginning of Hymn 27 a most repulsive metaphor, derived from Ezek. 16, 4-6, which effectually, and once for all, killed the hymn for use.

Obscure passages—common in Zinzendorf—are omitted, cf. 28, 13. Of mixed metaphors Wesley has a decided dislike,

as in the stanza (4, 4) where the believer is likened both to a lamb and a lion, or 4, 8 :

da solst du mein lamm, mein licht und tempel seyn.

A similar infelicity is avoided in :

wir haben seiner lieb panier
als eine starcke festung funden,

by rendering, 27, 3 :

The Banner of his Love we see,
And fearless grasp the starry Crown.

Though very free in the cases which have been remarked, Wesley can be extremely literal when he chooses. Compare, for instance, Hymn 5, v. 9, in German and English :

In hoffnung kan ich frölich sagen :
Gott hat der höllen macht geschlagen,
Gott führt mich aus dem kampf und streit
In seine ruh und sicherheit.
Already springing Hope I feel ;
God will destroy the Power of Hell ;
God from the Land of Wars and Pain
Leads me, where Peace and Safety reign.

Considering the fact that German studies hardly existed in England at the time, it is remarkable that we can say of Wesley (what perhaps could not be said of Scott or Coleridge) that he never shows a flagrant misunderstanding of the text. In sparse cases mistakes seem to have occurred :

Drum will die sorge meiner seelen
dir, meinem Vater ganz *befehlen* (5, 10)

is rendered :

One only Care my Soul shall know,
Father, all thy *Commands* to do.

The word *befehlen* seems to have been misinterpreted, but the original is decidedly obscure. Other cases are :

7, 7: *Entdeck*, mein Gott, die eigenheit,
O *hide* this Self from me.

14, 12: und lass biss in den tod
uns allzeit deiner pflege
und treu *empfohlen* seyn—

Let us in Life, in Death,
 They stedfast truth declare,
 And *publish* with our latest Breath
 Thy Love and Guardian Care!

Elsewhere the case is open to doubt, bearing in mind Wesley's freedom of treatment, the exigencies of verse, etc. (11, 6):

ich trachte alle welt
 und was mich von dir hält
 gantz zu *versuchen*
 Far, far from me the World *remove*
 And all that holds me from thy Love!

10, 2: wie schändlich *sich* [das Haus Jacob] vor Gott *verstellt*
 How then before Thee shall I dare
 To *stand*.

1, 4: oben und *hie unten*
 And Heaven above and *Hell* beneath

(probably for a stronger rhetorical effect).

That which was intended for local or special application comes out more general, and adapted to all times and a wide set of religious experiences. Winkler's spirited hymn, originally entitled "Eines Predigers," beginning

Solt ich, aus furcht für menschen-kindern
 des geistes trieb in mir verhindern (10, 1),

is adapted, by the omission of certain specific references to the ministerial office, to believers in general, and bears the suitable title "Boldness in the Gospel." Lange's *Morgenlied* (Hymn 17) is made a general hymn by omitting the references to the beginning of the day. Richter's hymn (4) compares the worshipper, throughout, to a lamb, with much minuteness. Wesley's translation, though close, ingeniously eliminates this exact comparison. In hymn 18 *Hertz* appears throughout as "Love." Wesley also prefers to omit the first personal pronoun in favor of a general statement (*e. g.*, 23, 13; 5, 6).

Not inconsistent with the simplicity of Wesley's style, but very characteristic of the *nicety* which was so prominent in his nature, is his fondness for neatly-balanced phrases, for building up well-worded climaxes, the latter feature not being lacking

in his models, Winkler (10) and Gerhardt (15), and perhaps somewhat due to the artificial models prevailing when he was so conspicuous a student at Oxford. The double epithet in 22, 1 is an alteration for this cause :

Ich will dich lieben, meine stärke,
ich will dich lieben, meine zier !
Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower,
Thee will I love, my Joy, my Crown.

- Cf. 18, 2: alles was da lebet in dir webet,
All things in Earth, and Air, and Sea,
Exist, and live, and move in Thee.
- 28, 2: Das macht, ich bin schon absolvirt,
Und meine schuld ist abgeführt,
Fully thro' these absolv'd I am
From Sin and Fear, from Guilt and Shame.

In this spirit he adds, at the close of hymn 26,

Sons of Earth, and Hosts of Heaven.

- Cf. 25, 4: dem will ich mich getrost vertraun
Here is my Hope, my Joy, my Rest.
- 16, 6: mir, dem schatten,
In Sin conceiv'd, of Woman born,
A Worm, a Leaf, a Blast, a Shade.
- 16, 7: auf dem Thron
Sov'reign of Earth, Air, Hell and Sky.
- 14, 7: Gott sitzt im regimente,
und führet alles wohl.
Yet Heav'n, and Earth, and Hell
Proclaim, God sitteth on the Throne,
And ruleth all things well !
- 11, 1: und mein so theures heyl
mit furcht mög schaffen !
With Joy and Fear, with Love and Awe
Give me to keep thy perfect Law.
- 15, 12: mein süsßer wein, mein himmel-brodt,
My Wine to chear, my Bread to stay.
- 18, 3: liebe
die ihr blut an uns gewandt,

Cam'st empty'd of thy Godhead, down,
For Us, to groan, to bleed, to die.

- 11, 4: mit wachen und gebet
 nach dir zu ringen.
 I groan, I strive, I watch, I pray.

We notice elsewhere ingenuity of phrase, short of conceit or trickery, as :

- 16, 3: der schnödsten schnödigkeit
 who less
 Than nothing am.
- 5, 2: o könnte doch in deiner pein
 die eigenheit ertödtet seyn.
 Griev'd with thy Grief, pain'd with thy Pain,
 Ne'er may I feel Self-Love again.
- 3, 3: in unser fleisch versencket,
 But God with God wert Man with Man.
- 5, 4: nur ist von der unlauterkeit
 die liebe noch nicht gantz befreyt,
 Yet vile Affections claim a part
 And thou hast only half my Heart.

The true poetic gift shows itself in creative touches, whereby a new and wholly individual vigor is infused into the matter treated, raising the product far above that dead, unreal thing, a mere version. There is a freshness and spirit in handling the original which makes these hymns masterpieces of translation, not unworthy to be compared in this respect with Luther's versions of the Hebrew psalms. As an original poet, Wesley's chief trait is loftiness, majesty, the "great style" at its full height, never becoming florid or bombastic. Again and again we mark the swelling of the deep Miltonian organ-tone, where the original shows a much less exalted strain. This style speaks in Hymn 29, where the opening line,

Der König ruht, und schauet doch,

is transformed into :

High on His Everlasting Throne,
The King of Saints his Works surveys.

Such alterations, though daring, and to be recommended with the utmost reserve, are constructive, as is also Wesley's universally-accepted amendment of Watts's psalm :

Nations attend before his throne
With solemn fear, with sacred joy,
into

Before Jehovah's awful Throne,
Ye Nations, bow with sacred joy.¹

We notice a heightened effect in many cases :

- 1, 5: Du einiger und wahrer Gott,
du herrscher aller himmels-schaaren,
Thou, true and only God, lead'st forth
Th' immortal Armies of the Sky.
- 28, 5: Dass er die Seelen drum verliert
Und sie der Heiland mit sich führt.
To tear the Prey out of Thy Teeth;
To spoil the Realms of Hell and Death.
- 17, 6: So bin ich wohlgeschmückt und köstlich angethan
Than Gold, and Pearls, more precious far,
And brighter than the Morning Star.
- 23, 4: Ich, ich und meine sünden. . .
die haben dir erreget
das elend, das dich schläget
My Sins have caus'd Thee, Lord, to bleed,
Pointed the Nail and fix'd the Thorn.

Level prose is brought into the domain of poetry, as, from Zinzendorf, 21, 4 :

- wir haben mehr wohlthat und segen empfangen,
als straffe wir bey dir verschuldt
Yea, ev'n our Crimes, tho' numberless,
Less num'rous than Thy Mercies are.
- 13, 11: ich jauchtze mit schon auf der erd,
bis ich ein himmels-engel werd.
Here as in Heaven thy Name we raise
For where thy Presence shines, is Heav'n.
- 20, 2: in deiner Liebes-Glut vereint,
der rauchen unsre pfannen

¹ Ps. and H. 1737, p. 5.

O wing with Flames of Holy Love
Our living Sacrifice.

The frequent introduction of a vigorous apostrophe is effective, as 25, 4 :

- Away, sad Doubt, and anxious Fear!
5, 6: Ich weiss mir zwar nicht selbst zu rathen
Ye Sons of Men, here nought avails
Your Strength, here all your Wisdom fails (cf. 19, 5).

A felicitous climax replaces a superlative or a mere repetition.

- 3, 13: höchstes gut, "my Lord, my Life, my All."
25, 3: weil Christi blut beständig schreyt:
barmhertzigkeit! barmhertzigkeit!
rendered While Jesu's Blood, thro' Earth and Skies,
Mercy, free, boundless Mercy cries!

This is quite parallel to Bayard Taylor's treatment of Faust, 1549 :

Entbehren sollst du! sollst entbehren!
Thou shalt abstain, renounce, refrain.

Exceptionally strong seems to me the introduction of an epithet at the close of hymn 15, Gerhardt's "O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht," rendering

- Und wenn ich nach vollbrachtem streit
mich soll zur ruhe legen,
alsdann lass deine liebes-treu, etc.,
by

And when the Storms of Life shall cease,
Jesu, in that important Hour,
In Death as Life be Thou my Guide, etc.

The impressiveness and metrical weight of the adjective "important" remind one of the familiar phrase from Bernhard of Clairvaux, "*in tremenda mortis hora.*"¹

Wesley's lofty style is due, more than anything else, to his familiarity with the English bible, which was incorporated into his very nature from the nursery up. The sublime tone

¹ Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, I, 192.

of the Hebrew poetry pervades these translations, and the great majority of essential alterations consists in the introduction of purely scriptural conceptions, as

10, 11: solt mein Gott mich auch nicht schützen
 since Thou wilt spread
 Thy shadowing Wing around my head (Ps. 17, 8).

To Isaiah, 63, 1, we owe the bold rhetorical question :

But who is This that comes from far,
Whose Garments roll'd in Blood appear ?

(Cf. 20, 8; 29, 3; 9, 4, and countless other instances.)

It would be indiscreet eulogy to ignore the fact that the force of the original is at times weakened. Beside the original of Hymn 28, 21, the English version seems stiff and formal :

Wenn nun kam eine böse Lust,
So dankt' ich Gott, dass ich nicht must' ;
Ich sprach zur Lust, zum Stolz, zum Geiz :
"Dafür hing unser Herr am Kreutz !"

If Pride, Desire, Wrath stirr'd anew,
Swift to my sure Resort I flew :
"See there my Lord upon the Tree !"
Hell heard : Instant my Soul was free.

No more her Power let Nature boast,
But in thy Will may mine be lost !

seems more artificial than

brich der natur gewalt entzwey,
und mache meinen willen frey ! (5, 3.)

5, 6: es muss durch dich gewircket seyn,

translated

Thou only, Lord, supreme of Men,

is hardly felicitous, as also the rendering of "mit größtem glimpf" (6, 9) by "Firmly, Singularly Good." One is not quite satisfied with the last words of Winkler's hymn (10) which contain, in the original, the spirit of Hutten and Luther combined :

es ist gewagt ! Gott steh mir bey !
'Tis fix'd ! I can do all thro' Thee !

Philip Molther, the Moravian, for whom Wesley made the magnificent version of "Ich habe nun den grund gefunden," while declaring it the best English hymn he had known, objected to the phrase (25, 2),

Thy Heart still melts with Tenderness
Returning Sinners to receive,

as being less strong than

dem allemal das hertze bricht,
wir kommen oder kommen nicht,

but in such cases good taste is saved at the expense of some original force.

The subsequent history of these versions exhibits many variations in the text, due to different causes. Where alterations are made for confessional reasons, (as in their adoption by Unitarian editors), the changes are right and necessary. Tinkering for amendment usually suggests Bernini's setting up of bell-turrets on the Pantheon of Agrippa. Unaccountable (except by the charitable hypothesis of a misprint) is the change in the standard hymnal of the M. E. church from the phrase, "Chase this dead Slumber from my Soul" to "dread slumber," especially when it represents in the original *das sichre schlaffen*. In the C. S. Robinson-cycle of hymn-books, the rendering of Tersteegen's *Majestätisch Wesen* (19, 4) "Being of Beings" appears as "Lord God of Hosts;" of *heilig, heilig singen* (19, 2), "Heaven's Hosts their noblest Praises bring," as "Let saints their humble worship bring." "Give to the Winds thy Fears," an original stroke of Wesley's (14, 9) reads, "O, cast away thy fears," in the United Presbyterian Hymn-Book, and so on. One cannot seriously quarrel with the compilers of a recently-published American hymnal for changing (7, 5) the translation of *was noch von unlauterkeit*, "nor let one darling Lust survive" into, "nor let one favorite sin survive," but when that masterly rendering of the close of Gerhardt's hymn (15), of which I have already spoken,

And when the Storms of Life shall cease,
Jesu, in that important Hour,

In Death as Life be Thou my Guide,
And save me, who for me hast died !

is given :

.... in that dark, final hour
Of death, be Thou my guide and friend,
That I may love Thee without end,

one feels like letting Wesley himself speak out as he did in the 7th paragraph of the preface to "A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People called Methodists, 1780 : " "And here I beg leave to mention a thought which has been long upon my mind, and which I should long ago have inserted in the public papers, had I not been unwilling to stir up a nest of hornets. Many gentlemen have done my Brother and me (though without naming us) the honour to reprint many of our Hymns. Now they are perfectly welcome so to do, provided they print them just as they are. But I desire they would not attempt to mend them ; for they really are not able. None of them is able to mend either the sense, or the verse. Therefore I must beg of them one of these two favours : either to let them stand just as they are, to take them for better for worse ; or to add the true reading in the margin, or at the bottom of the page ; that we may no longer be accountable either for the nonsense or for the doggerel of other men."

It may be of interest to add that in the fourth stanza of hymn 28, by Zinzendorf, is found, as far as I know, the only allusion to the Faust-legend in hymnology :

Wenn er nun gleich auf meine Ehr
Mit meinem Blut geschrieben wär.

Wesley renders less minutely,

Tho' sign'd and written with my Blood.

NOTE.—Much detailed work of investigation for this paper has been done by the following members of my advanced group in German : H. S. Bassett, N. F. C. Bray, M. Brown, J. E. Eversz, W. D. Lane, H. A. Sinclair, F. L. Spofford, P. L. Windsor. For the use of books and documents, I desire to express obligations to the Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, of Nazareth, Pa. ; Rev. S. G. Ayres, of Drew Theological Seminary ; Archivist A. Glitsch, of Herrnhut ; Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, Bethlehem, Pa., and the authorities of Garrett Biblical Institute.

A STANZA-INDEX TO WESLEY'S TRANSLATIONS OF
GERMAN HYMNS.

The numbers refer to the enumeration of the hymns at the beginning of this article. The capitalization has been modernized.

	HYMN.
Ah, give me now, all-gracious Lord.....	23
Ah, Lord! enlarge our scanty thought.....	24
Ah, Love! thy influence withdrawn.....	15
Ah no! ne'er will I backward turn.....	7
Ah! why did I so late thee know.....	22
Alarm'd at their successful toil.....	29
All glory to th' eternal three.....	9
All Heav'n thou fill'st with pure desire.....	2
All things in earth, and air, and sea.....	18
Already springing hope I feel.....	5
And well I know thy tender love.....	5
And whatsoe'er thou wilt'st.....	14
And while I felt thy blood within.....	23
A patient, a victorious mind.....	3
Arise, stir up thy pow'r.....	6
Arm me with thy whole armour, Lord.....	12
As flow'rs their op'ning leaves display.....	19
As incense to thy throne above.....	20
Astonish'd at thy frowning brow.....	16
Aw'd by a mortal's frown, shall I.....	10
Before thy face, O Lord most high.....	13
Be heav'n ev'n now our soul's abode.....	18
Being of beings, may our praise.....	19
Bold shall I stand in thy great day.....	23
Boundless wisdom, power divine.....	26
But O! what offering shall I give.....	17
Carnal and sold to sin no more.....	28
Cherubs with seraphs join.....	6
Close by thy side still may I keep.....	4
Commit thou all thy griefs.....	14
Dust and ashes tho' we be.....	26
Each moment draw my heart away.....	7
Effulgence of the light divine.....	3
Enthron'd above yon sky.....	6

	HYMN.
Eternal depth of love divine.....	21
Eternity thy fountain was.....	1
Ev'n heathens feel thy power.....	6
Extended on a cursed tree.....	23
Far, far above thy thought.....	14
Father, thy everlasting grace.....	25
First-born of many brethren thou.....	24
Fix'd on this ground will I remain.....	25
Fix, O fix my wavering mind.....	26
For this let men revile my name.....	10
For zeal I sigh, for zeal I pant.....	11
Fountain of good, all blessing flows.....	16
From all eternity with love.....	15
From thy blest wounds our life we draw.....	20
Fully the quick'ning sp'rit impart.....	27
Give me thy strength, O God of pow'r.....	10
Give to my eyes refreshing tears.....	22
Give to the winds thy fears.....	14
Gladly the toys of earth we leave.....	19
Grace we implore; when billows roll.....	18
Hail venerable train.....	6
Heaven's glory is thy awful throne.....	1
Hell's armies tremble at thy nod.....	16
Hence our hearts melt, our eyes o'erflow.....	24
He prospers all his servants toils.....	29
Here many a faithful soul is found.....	29
High on his everlasting throne.....	29
High praise to thee, all-gracious God..	27
High-thron'd on heav'n's eternal hill.....	16
His eye the world at once looks thro'.....	29
Holy Lamb, who thee receive.....	26
How blest are they, who still abide.....	24
How can it be, thou heavenly king.....	24
Howe'er I rove, where'er I turn.....	15
I feel well that I love thee, Lord.....	5
If in this darksome wild I stray	8
If pride, desire, wrath stirr'd anew.....	28
If rough and thorny be my way.....	8
I, I alone have done the deed.....	23
In darkness willingly I stray'd.....	22
In life's short day let me yet more.....	5
In suff'ring be thy love my peace.....	15

	HYMN.
In the devouring lion's teeth.....	23
In thee we move. All things of thee.....	19
Into thy gracious hands I fall.....	12
I see thy garments roll'd in blood.....	2
Is there a thing beneath the sun.....	7
I thank thee, uncreated sun.....	22
I thirst, thou wounded Lamb of God.....	24
Jesu, be endless praise to thee.....	28
Jesu, see my panting breast.....	26
Jesus their toil delighted sees.....	29
Jesu, thy blood and righteousness.....	28
Jesu, thy boundless love to me.....	15
Jesu, thy light again I view.....	17
Jesu, to thee my heart I bow.....	2
Jesu, vouchsafe my heart and will.....	5
Jesu, when this light we see.....	26
Jesu, whose glory's streaming rays.....	12
Leave to his sov'reign sway.....	14
Let us in life, in death.....	14
Lo, God is here! Him day and night.....	19
Lo, God is here! Let us adore.....	19
Lord arm me with thy spirit's might.....	17
Lord God of armies, ceaseless praise.....	13
Lord, I believe the price is paid.....	28
Lord, I believe thy precious blood.....	28
Lord, I believe were sinners more.....	28
Lord over all, sent to fulfill.....	3
Lost and undone for aid I cry.....	5
Midst danger's blackest frown.....	6
Monarch of all, with lowly fear.....	13
More hard than marble is my heart.....	15
My health, my light, my life, my crown.....	15
My heart from all pollution clean.....	9
My life, my blood, I here present.....	10
My Saviour, how shall I proclaim.....	23
My Saviour, thou thy love to me.....	15
My soul before thee prostrate lies.....	5
Naked from Satan did I flee.....	28
No profit can'st thou gain.....	14
Now Christ in us doth live, and we.....	27
Now hast thou given us thro' thy son.....	27
Now I have found the ground, wherein.....	25
Now then, my God, thou hast my soul.....	17

	HYMN.
O draw me, Saviour, after thee.....	15
Of all thou the beginning art.....	13
O Father, sanctify this pain.....	9
Oft have we seen thy mighty pow'r.....	21
O God of God[s], in whom combine.....	18
O God, of good th' unfathom'd sea.....	16
O God, thou bottomless abyss.....	1
O grant that nothing in my soul.....	15
O guide me, lead me in thy ways.....	9
O hide this self from me, that I.....	7
O Jesu, full of grace! the sighs.....	12
O Jesu, source of calm repose.....	3
O kill in me this rebel sin.....	2
O king of glory, thy rich grace.....	21
O leave not, cast me not away.....	9
O let the dead now hear thy voice.....	23
O Lord, O God of love.....	6
O love, how chearing is thy ray.....	15
O love, our stubborn wills subdue.....	18
O love, thou bottomless abyss.....	25
O love, thy sov'reign aid impart.....	7
O may one beam of thy blest light.....	11
O(h)! multiply thy sower's seed.....	29
One only care my soul shall know.....	5
O never in these veils of shame.....	17
O pow'rful love, to thee we bow.....	13
O that I as a little child.....	15
O that my heart, which open stands.....	15
O thou, to whose all-searching sight.....	8
O thou, who all things canst controul.....	11
O thou, whom sinners love, whose care.....	20
O ye who joy to feed his sheep.....	23
Parent of good, thy bounteous hand.....	1
Primeval beauty! in thy sight.....	16
Renew thy image Lord in me.....	3
Restore my sight! let thy free grace.....	12
Satan, thy due reward survey.....	23
Saviour of men! thy searching eye.....	10
Saviour, where'er thy steps I see.....	8
See where the servants of their God.....	29
See, ye sinners, see the flame.....	26
Send down thy likeness from above.....	17
Shall I, for fear of feeble man.....	10

	HYMN.
Shall I, to sooth th' unholy throng.....	10
Single of heart O may I be.....	11
So ev'n in storms my zeal shall grow.....	5
So shall my ev'ry power to thee.....	13
So shall our lives thy power proclaim.....	29
So when on Sion thou shalt stand.....	4
Still heavy is thy heart.....	14
Still I do watch and labour still.....	5
Still let thy love point out my way.....	15
Still let thy tears, thy groans, thy sighs.....	23
Still let thy wisdom be my guide.....	12
Still, Lord, from thy exhaustless store.....	9
Take my poor heart and let it be.....	24
The burthen for me to sustain.....	23
The church through all her bounds.....	6
The deadly slumber soon I feel.....	11
The deadly writing now I see.....	28
The dictates of thy sov'reign will.....	21
Thee will I love, my joy, my crown.....	23
Thee will I love, my strength, my tower.....	22
The holy, the unspotted Lamb.....	28
The love of Christ does me constrain.....	10
The meek, the still, the lowly mind.....	23
Then shall heaven's hosts with loud acclaim.....	28
The world, sin, death oppose in vain.....	3
Thine is whate'er we are. Thy grace.....	27
Thine, Lord, is wisdom, thine alone.....	1
This spotless robe the same appears.....	28
Tho' sign'd and written with my blood.....	28
Thou art th' eternal light.....	6
Thou ev'rywhere hast away.....	14
Thou for our pain didst mourn.....	6
Thou God of power, thou God of love.....	28
Thou hast my flesh; thy hallowed shrine.....	17
Thou hast o'erthrown the foe.....	6
Thou hidden love of God, whose height.....	7
Thou, Jesu, art our king.....	6
Thou Lamb of God, thou prince of peace.....	4
Thou, Lord, art good, and thou alone.....	13
Thou, Lord, art light: thy native ray.....	13
Thou, Lord, art love, from thee pure love.....	13
Thou, Lord, the dreadful fight hast won.....	4
Thou on the Lord rely.....	14
Thou seest our weakness, Lord.....	14
Thou shin'st with everlasting rays.....	16

	HYMN.
Thou, true and only God, lead'st forth.....	1
Tho' waves and storms go o'er my head.....	25
Thro' thy rich grace, in Jesu's blood.....	27
Thro' waves, and clouds, and storms.....	14
Thus Abraham, the friend of God.....	28
Thy everlasting truth.....	14
Thy parent hand, thy forming skill.....	1
Thy secret voice invites me still.....	7
'Tis mercy all that thou hast brought.....	7
To dig the ground, they all bestow.....	29
Too much to thee I cannot give.....	28
Unwearied may I this pursue.....	15
Uphold me in the doubtful race.....	22
Wash out its stains, refine its dress.....	8
What are our works but sin and death.....	24
What can we offer our good Lord.....	29
What in thy love possess I not.....	15
What then is he, whose scorn I dread.....	10
What tho' thou rulest not.....	14
When from the dust of earth I rise.....	28
When my warm'd thoughts I fix on thee.....	5
When pain o'er my weak flesh prevails.....	4
When rising floods my head o'erflow.....	8
When thou arisest, Lord.....	14
When thou shalt call in that great day.....	28
Where'er the faithful workers turn.....	29
Who in heart on thee believes.....	26
Who points the clouds their course.....	14
Who, who, my Saviour, this hath done.....	23
Wide earth's remotest bound.....	6
With faith I plunge me in this sea.....	25
With fraudless, even, humble mind.....	4
With out-stretch'd hands, and streaming eyes.....	11
Yea, Father, ours thro' him, thou art.....	27
Yea, let man rage! since thou wilt spread.....	10
Yea, thou, true witness, spotless lamb.....	2
Ye earthly loves be far away.....	2
Ye sons of men, here nought avails.....	5
Yet nought whereof to boast I have.....	28
Yet still the servants of their Lord.....	29
Yet while at length, who scorned thy might.....	1

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

VII.—NOTES ON *MACBETH*.¹

I. THE WEIRD SISTERS.

Strangely enough the word "weird" has come into modern English entirely from its use in *Macbeth*. The word occurs six times in this play as usually printed: five times in the expression "weird sisters" (I, III, 32, and v, 8; II, I, 20; III, iv, 133; IV, I, 136), and once in the phrase "the weird women" (III, I, 2). Stranger still, "weird" does not appear at all in the only authoritative text of the tragedy, that of the first folio. In that edition the word is "weyward" in the first three passages in the play, and "weyard" in the last three. It was Theobald, the "dearest foe" of Pope, who saw that Shakespeare must have written "weird," and that this rare word had been changed because of "the ignorance of the copyists." Modern editors accept the suggestion of Theobald; but I believe that the full force of the word "weird" is often unapprehended, even by special students of the play.

In Anglo-Saxon literature, "Wýrd" is the name of the personified goddess of fate. Wýrd is "the lord of every man." The word is also a common noun; each man has his own wýrd, or destiny.

In Chaucer we find these lines:—

"But O, Fortune, executrice of wierdes" [fates, destinies].
Troilus and Criseyde, III, 617.

"The Wirdes, that we clepen [call] Destinee."
The Legend of Good Women, 2580 (ix, 19).

In the second of these lines we have a personification, but the conception is of more than one "Wýrd."

¹ Some other topics connected with this play were treated by the writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1892, in a paper entitled "Studies in *Macbeth*."

A passage in the Scotch translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, written about 1513 by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, is very striking. I give first the original Latin.

"prohibent nam cetera Parcae
Scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Juno."

Aeneid, III, 379-380.

"The remanent heirow, quhat euir be it,
The werd sisteris defendis [forbid] that suld be wit [known],
And eik the dochter of auld Saturne, Juno,
Forbiddis Helenus to speik it, and cryis, ho!"

The Thrid Buik of Eneados, Cap. vi, 23-26.

Here "the werd sisteris" is the translation of the Latin "Parcae." I suppose that the Parcae and the three sister-Fates of the Greeks,—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos,—were identified in the mind of Vergil.

Shakespeare's source for the story of Macbeth was Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, published in 1577. The evidence of this work is decisive in favor of changing "weyward" and "weyard" to "weird." The following passage from Holinshed will especially concern us:—

"It fortun'd as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie togither without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the midst of a laund, there met them *three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world*, whome when they attentiuellie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glamis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said; Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder. But the third said; All haile Makbeth that heereafter shalt be king of Scotland.

"Then Banquho; What manner of women (saith he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all? Yes (saith the first

of them), we promise greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in deed, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in his place, where contrarilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be borne which shall gouern the Scottish kingdome by long order of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either *the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie*, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromantical science, bicause euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken."—Furness' *Variorum Macbeth*, pp. 363–4. Italics my own.

In the Scandinavian mythology, as it was preserved in Iceland, "Urthr" was the eldest and the most prominent of the three Norns, or sister-Fates. The loss of an initial *w* disguises the identity of the word with the name of the Anglo-Saxon goddess of fate "Wyrd." Both words are to be connected with the Latin *vertere* (pronounced *wertere*), the German *werden*, the Icelandic *vertha* (pronounced *wertha*), and the Anglo-Saxon *weorthan*. Apparently because the name "Urthr" is made from that form of the verbal stem which appeared in the plural of the past tense, this goddess came to be looked upon especially as the fate of the past (*des gewordenes*). Professor E. Mogk¹ thinks that it was bungling word-play (*junges, isländisches Machwerk*) of the twelfth century which first gave to the two sisters of Urthr, the fates of the present and future, the names "Verthandi" (pronounced *werthandi*—die *Werdende*, the goddess of that which is now *coming to be*—from the same verb as "Urthr") and "Skuld" (allied to *shall, soll*). The three Norns guard one of the three roots of Ygdrasil,

¹ Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, I, 1024.

the great Ash-tree of Existence. Urthr and Verthandi, the Past and Present, stretch a web from east to west, "from the radiant dawn of life to the glowing sunset, and Skuld, the Future, tears it to pieces."¹

The *Century Dictionary* says of the phrase "the weird sisters": "An awkward expression, literally 'the fate sisters', apparently meant for 'the Sister Fates.'" That this is the general meaning of the phrase, I feel confident.² Schmidt's explanation of "weird," in his *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, as "subservient to Destiny," fails to bring out the dignity of the word both in Holinshed and Shakespeare. The weird sisters are not "subservient to Destiny"; they *are* Destiny.

The commentators have not noticed, I think, that the weird sisters speak to Macbeth and Banquo in character, as the Norns of the Past, Present, and Future.³ This fact, which seems to be true in a general way of their speeches in Holinshed, comes out very clearly in Shakespeare.

"Banquo. How far is't call'd to Forres? What are these
So wither'd and so wild in their attire,
That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth,
And yet are on't? Live you? or are you aught

¹Anderson's *Norse Mythology*, p. 209.

²Dr. F. A. Wood, of the University of Chicago, thinks that the writer in the *Century Dictionary* does not catch the exact force of the word "weird." "In origin," writes Dr. Wood, "it is a feminine abstract noun. It seems better, therefore, to regard 'weird,' in the compound 'weird-sisters', as the abstract 'fate,' rather than as the goddess of fate, one of the Parcae. The 'weird-sisters' would then mean the 'fate-sisters' or 'death-sisters' (cf. Chaucer's expression, 'O fatal sustren.'—*Troilus and Cr.*, III, 733). This, I think, is the way Grimm regarded it in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, I, 337 ff., where similar compounds are given, 'the thre weirdsystirs' [from *The Complaynt of Scotland*, written 1548], 'the weirdelves' [from Warner's *Albion's England*, printed 1616], etc.

If we make 'weird' in this compound the goddess, then the compound would mean 'the sisters of Wyrd,' and not 'the sister Wyrds.'

³While reading the proof of this paper, I have noticed the following sentence in Dowden's *Shakspeare—His Mind and Art*, p. 222:—"When they have given him the three hails—as Glamis, as Cawdor, and as King; the hail of the past, of the present, of the future—Macbeth starts."

That man may question? You seem to understand me,
By each at once her chappy finger laying
Upon her skinny lips: you should be women,
And yet your beards forbid me to interpret
That you are so.

Macbeth. Speak, if you can: what are you?

1. [The Past] All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee,thane of Glamis!
2. [Verthandi, the Present] All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee,thane of Cawdor! [This title the king is now bestowing upon him, perhaps at this very instant. In *Holinshed*, it is "shortlie after" the three women meet the two warriors that the king honors Macbeth by making him thane of Cawdor.]
3. [Should, the Future] All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be king hereafter!"

I, III, 38-50.

It is not so plain that the three sisters speak in character in what is said to Banquo in the tragedy, but I do not think that we force the meaning if we interpret these speeches in the same way as the previous ones.

"*Banquo.*
If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow and which will not,
Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your hate.

1. Hail:
2. Hail:
3. Hail:
1. [The Past] Lesser [by birth] than Macbeth [the cousin of the king], and greater [in integrity, because he has been harbouring a wicked ambition].
2. [The Present] Not so happy, yet much happier ["i. e., not so fortunate [as Macbeth in securing a present mark of honour], but much more blessed."—*schmidt*].
3. [The Future] Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none: So all hail, Macbeth and Banquo:
1. Banquo and Macbeth, all hail!"—I, III, 58-69.

In *Holinshed*, it is only the first of the women that addresses Banquo, and she speaks of the future, although her words to Macbeth concern only the past. It may be that Shakespeare's exact division of the rôles into Past, Present and Future, is in a measure accidental, being suggested by *Holinshed* in the case

of the speeches to Macbeth, and simply repeated in the words addressed to Banquo. It seems probable, however, that the careful distinction observed here between the three Norns is intentional. That "the weird sisters" are those "creatures of elder world," the mighty goddesses of destiny, can hardly be questioned. They are not called witches in the play itself, but always "the weird sisters" or "the weird women"; though one of them tells of the circumstances under which a sailor's wife said to her, "Aroint thee, witch (I, III, 6)!" The only other use of the word "witch" in the text of the play occurs when a "witches' mummy" is mentioned (IV, I, 23) among the many uncanny things which, in the cauldron,

"Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

The close connection between Scotland and Norway during the Middle Ages may well explain the appearance of Urthr, Verthandi, and Skuld in the Scotch story of Macbeth and Banquo. From the monastery of Iona, on the west coast of Scotland, Christianity spread to the Orkneys and Iceland; and it was Iceland that preserved the Norse mythology. Some of the kings of Norway were buried at Iona. "Down to the middle of the thirteenth century," says Canon Taylor, "the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man were not dependencies of the Crown of Scotland, but jarldoms attached to the kingdom of Norway."¹ The inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland are of almost pure Norse blood, and the Norse language lingered in Shetland to the close of the eighteenth century.

The word "weird," as has been said, was taken into modern English from *Macbeth*. Its significance, however, was not understood. The word in its present use is an adjective, and has a range of meaning indicated by the words 'wild, mysterious, uncanny, unearthly, ghostly'; "weird" in *Macbeth* was vaguely felt to express this combination of ideas. In the

¹ Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 112.

Scotch dialect of English the word has not died out, and retains the older meaning, 'fate, destiny.' The word is common in Scott; for example, Meg Merrilies in *Guy Mannering* speaks often of the "weird," or destiny, of Harry Bertram.

The powerful conception of the three Fates, "the weird sisters," is not maintained throughout the tragedy of *Macbeth*, as every reader knows. In a portion of the opening scene of the play, and in that part of Scene III, Act I, which precedes the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo, we have simply three witches,—witches of exceptional power and malignancy, but not the great goddesses of destiny.

In Scene v of Act III the sisters are degraded still farther to inferior and disobedient witches. Their queen Hecate reprimands them for acting without informing her and allowing her to play a part. This distressing scene reaches a climax of unfitness when Hecate suggests that Macbeth has pretended to be in love with the hags:—

"First Witch. Why, how now, Hecate! you look angrily."

"Hecate. Have I not reason, beldams as you are,
Saucy and overbold? How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth
In riddles and affairs of death;
And I, the mistress of your charms,
The close contriver of all harms,
Was never call'd to bear my part,
Or show the glory of our art?
And, which is worse, all you have done
Hath been but for a wayward son,
Spiteful and wrathful, who, as others do,
Loves for his own ends, not for you."

III, v, 1-13.

At a later point I give in outline the reasons which have convinced many students that *Macbeth* has not been preserved for us in the exact form in which Shakespeare wrote it. The evidence for this view is very strong,—I think conclusive; yet no passage need be surrendered that lovers of Shakespeare care to claim as his. Principally because the two songs called

for in the unfitting Hecate parts of the play—of which songs the opening words only are given (III, v, 33 and IV, i, 43)—were found in full in Thomas Middleton's play, *The Witch*, discovered in ms. about 1779,—the author of the unShakespearian portions of *Macbeth* has been thought to be Middleton. Hudson takes away from Shakespeare not only the speeches of Hecate, but also two of the closing lines of Scene i, Act I, and the first thirty-seven lines of Scene III, Act I, where the conception, as we have noted, is of three witches.

What shall we say, however, about the powerful cauldron scene of IV, i, which precedes the entrance of Hecate? Hudson cannot give this up, although witches are here presented, engaged in the practice of witchcraft. I quote his striking defence of the fitness and genuineness of this passage:

“Is there any way to account for the altered language and methods used in the cauldron business, without dispossessing the Weird Sisters of their proper character? Let us see.

“The Weird Sisters of course have their religion; though, to be sure, that religion is altogether Satanic. For so essential is religion of some kind to all social life and being, that even the society of Hell cannot subsist without it. Now, every religion, whether human or Satanic, has, and must have, a liturgy and ritual of some sort, as its organs of action and expression. The Weird Sisters know, by supernatural ways, that Macbeth is burning to question them further, and that he has resolved to pay them a visit. To instruct and inspire him in a suitable manner, they arrange to hold a religious service in his presence and behalf. And they fitly employ the language and ritual of witchcraft, as being the only language and ritual which he can understand and take the sense of: they adopt, for the occasion, the sacraments of witchcraft, because these are the only sacraments whereby they can impart to him the Satanic grace and efficacy which it is their office to dispense. The language, however, and ritual of witchcraft are in their use condensed and intensified to the highest degree of potency and impressiveness. Thus their appalling

infernal liturgy is a special and necessary accommodation to the senses and the mind of the person they are dealing with. It really seems to me that they had no practicable way but to speak and act in this instance just like witches, only a great deal more so."—*Harvard Shakespeare*, xvii, p. 130.

We naturally feel that it not only degrades the "weird sisters" to put them before us as witches, but that witches make vulgar and unfitting characters at the best in a serious drama. Let us attempt for a moment, however, to identify ourselves with Shakespeare, the actor and play-wright, seeking to impress an Elizabethan audience.

To the men of that day witches were a reality. The world of witchcraft was dark and mysterious, but it was real. *Macbeth* seems to have been written about the year 1606. Nine years before this, King James VI. of Scotland published "a learned and painful" treatise to prove that every Christian must necessarily believe in witchcraft, and in this work all the minutiae of the subject were duly expounded. In March, 1603, he became king of England also, by the death of Elizabeth. During the first year of his reign over the double kingdom, and perhaps partly in compliment to his convictions and expert knowledge on the subject, a new statute against witchcraft was passed, which remained in force until 1736. Listen to the solemn utterances of this law:—

"If any person or persons shall use, practise, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit to or for any intent or purpose, or take up any dead man, woman, or child out of his, her, or their grave or any other place where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or any part of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined, or lamed in his or her body or any part thereof," every such offender is a felon without benefit of clergy.

In 1665, at the trial of some Suffolk witches, Sir Thomas Browne, the well-known author of the *Religio Medici*, testified as an expert in favor of the reality of witchcraft. Sir Matthew Hale, afterward lord chief-justice of England, presided at the trial; and in summing up the case, adduced Scripture in support of his own opinion that such creatures as witches really existed.

Shakespeare had been dead seventy-six years when the witchcraft delusion of 1692 broke out in Salem village. The prosecutions were brought under the statute of James I.; but undoubtedly the command which justified the executions in the minds of the colonists was *Exodus*, xxii, 18: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Professor Henry Fergusson well says:—

"It should always be remembered that belief in witchcraft was not a peculiarity of New England, and that the reason the colonists there have been judged so hardly for their panic is that men have felt that they had claimed to be superior to the men of their generation, and thus should be measured by a higher standard."¹

More than a hundred years after *Macbeth* was written, Addison describes for us Sir Roger de Coverley, who, though the leading squire of his county and a model country gentleman, "would frequently have bound" poor old Moll White "over to the county sessions, had not his chaplain with much ado persuaded him to the contrary."

But more illuminating for us is the opinion of Addison himself, who declares, after a careful and serious argument: "I believe in general that there is, and has been, such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it."²

The year 1712 is sometimes given as the date of the last execution for witchcraft in England, and 1727 for the last execution in Scotland. Mr. W. Henry Wills states³ that in 1716

¹ *Essays in American History*, p. 61.

² *Spectator Essays*, No. 117.

³ In the notes to his edition of the *De Coverley Essays* (Harper).

"a Mrs. Hicks and her daughter were hanged at Huntingdon for selling their souls to the devil," etc. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, however, gives as the last trial for witchcraft in England, that of Jane Wenham in 1712. She was convicted, but not executed. The statute of James I. was repealed in 1736.

Although the modern drama permits many conventional departures from actual life, its cardinal quality is vivid realism. The most exalted hero of history or epic tradition when put upon the stage becomes completely human, stands upon a level with the spectators, and appeals to their sympathy. Cæsar, Macbeth, Hamlet, each seems to the humblest auditor to be but an extension, an enlargement of his own personality, a second self; each appeals to him entirely by virtue of a common human nature.

The sense of reality is essential to a serious drama of the highest type. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is sportive; but *Richard III.*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth* set forth what the spectators, for whom they were written, accepted as a portrayal of real life. Shakespeare in appealing to his audiences made use of the general conceptions and beliefs that filled their minds, just as he made use of the Elizabethan form of the language; nevertheless he was careful to employ the agency of the supernatural, as Professor Moulton expresses it, only "to intensify and to illuminate human action, not to determine it." The supernatural was not allowed to be really causative. Because of this wise method, his plays, which fascinated the men of his own day, appeal with equal power to us, who hold opinions decidedly different from theirs concerning supernatural manifestations.

It must be admitted that there is a lack of harmony, even a decided clash, in uniting in the same persons the imperturbable goddesses of destiny and malignant witches; but if the weird women were to have rôles of any length, it was necessary that they be made completely real, that they be humanized in some form. The Greeks had a similar difficulty, though their drama was far less realistic than is ours. Says Freytag:—

"Whenever the gods had to play a real part upon the stage, and not simply to utter a command *ex machina*, then they were of necessity either entirely transformed into men, with all the pain and anger of men, as was Prometheus, or they sank below the nobility of human nature, without the poet being able to hinder it, down to blank generalizations of love and hate, like the Athene in the prologue of *Ajax*."¹

We see that, when *Macbeth* appeared, the entire English people, king and subjects, believed in the reality of witchcraft. The usual manner in which the emissaries of Satan actually did lure men to evil was thought to be known, in a general way. If the weird sisters were to do that work, they would naturally do it in that way; they would use the apparatus of witchcraft. They must submit to dramatic necessity and be humanized; but they were humanized as witches,—creatures dwelling on the very confines of humanity and holding commerce with the devil,—"secret, black, and midnight hags," doing deeds "without a name." Shakespeare yields to dramatic necessity, but gives to the cauldron scene all possible poetic impressiveness; he takes the supposed facts of witchcraft and raises them to the *n*th power.

In view of these considerations I do not care to question the genuineness of any of the supernatural portions of the play except the rôle of Hecate and a few lines closely connected therewith.

There is some external evidence, also, against taking away from Shakespeare the opening portion of I, III, which Hudson rejects. Holinshed's account of the reign of King Duffe appears to have contributed a number of details to *Macbeth*;² and it is decidedly in favor of the following lines that they seem to have been suggested by the description in Holinshed of the manner in which King Duffe was made to pine away under the influence of witchcraft:—

¹*Die Technik des Dramas*, p. 52.

²See Furness' *Macbeth*, pp. 356–9.

"*First Witch.*
 I will drain him dry as hay:
 Sleep shall neither night nor day
 Hang upon his pent-house lid;
 He shall live a man forbid:
 Weary se'nnights nine times nine
 Shall he dwindle, peak and pine."

I, III, 18-23.

I do not believe that the "commonplace and vulgar" quality which Hudson finds in the opening portion of Scene III, Act I, was painfully evident even to the more sensitive persons in Shakespeare's audiences. The passage is not his best work, and may be in some degree a concession to the delight that the audience was sure to take in the witches, but I believe it to be Shakespeare's. So long as witchcraft was thoroughly believed in, effective use could be made of it upon the stage. "Killing swine" and "sailing in a sieve" were believed to be common occupations among witches; probably the first of these opinions sprang from the account of the destruction of the herd of swine by the "devils," as told in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and was felt to have some degree of Scripture authority. Such forms of activity naturally seem "commonplace and vulgar" to us; but they would not if we believed in witches; and while we are reading *Macbeth* we must believe in them.

II. THE SHOW OF EIGHT KINGS.

Ghostly forms of the eight Scottish kings of the royal house of Stuart,—Robert II., Robert III., and the six Jameses,—are made by the witches to appear and pass before Macbeth in a dumb show (IV, 1). These are the descendants of Banquo, who are to rule over Scotland. But why is Mary Stuart omitted, who, between the reigns of James V. and James VI., was the nominal sovereign for a full quarter of a century? To be sure the literal promise to Banquo was, "Thou shalt get *kings*"; but Mary was a sovereign, if not a king; and what a fine fitness would there have been in bringing into this

drama, though but for a moment, her bewitching form! *Macbeth* is a "tragedy of blood," and in it eager female beings appear, earthly and unearthly, and tempt to evil deeds. Surely the beautiful Queen of Scots would have been a most appropriate and suggestive figure in that dumb show!

Though Shakespeare had paid honeyed compliments to Elizabeth, the great antagonist of the lovely Stuart queen, he was now, in 1606, the loyal subject of James I. He naturally felt, we may suppose, that it would be unpleasant and impolitic to remind his sovereign and his audiences of the character and fate of the king's mother, the unhappy Mary.

III. THE VIEWS CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF *MACBETH*.

I will attempt to summarize in a tabular form the most important peculiarities of this play which have led students to question the complete genuineness of it in its present condition. So far as I know, attention was first called to many of these points by Clark and Wright. I admit that my classification of the material under the following heads is somewhat arbitrary.

1. Its short and crowded character.

- (1) It is about $\frac{2}{3}$ the average length of *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello*.
- (2) Only *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, among the plays of Shakespeare, have a larger number of scenes.

2. Contradictions.

- (1) In Scene II, Act I, Macbeth vanquishes the Thane of Cawdor in single combat. In the next scene he knows nothing about this.
- (2) In Scene II, Act I, Ross knows all about the treachery of the Thane of Cawdor, and in Scene III he seems to know nothing.

3. Inequalities.

- (1) Scene II of Act I is inferior to the remainder of the play.
- (2) The speeches of Hecate are noticeably inferior.

4. Inconsistencies.

- (1) The weird sisters appear as the three Norns, as vulgar witches, and as inferior and disobedient witches. The suggestion in III, v, 13, that Macbeth has pretended to be in love with them is a farther difficulty.
- (2) The impossibly long journey of the bleeding sergeant from Fife to Forres (I, ii, 42).

5. Minor difficulties.

- (1) The fact that Macbeth speaks of himself as "our high-placed Macbeth" (IV, i, 98).
- (2) The impossibility of fixing the time of Scene vi, Act III (see Daniel, *Trans. New Sh. Soc.*, 1877-79, p. 207; or Rolfe's ed., p. 258).
- (3) There is a double stage-direction at V, viii, 34, as follows:—

Exeunt fighting. Alarums.

Enter fighting, and Macbeth slain.

The second of these seems inconsistent with the direction at l. 53, which reads:—

Reënter Macduffe, with Macbeth's head.

- (4) The jarring reference to Lady Macbeth at the close of the play (V, viii, 70).

The objections made to the rôle of the drunken Porter do not seem to me to be valid.

6. The relation of *Macbeth* to Middleton's play, *The Witch*.

- (1) The songs referred to in III, v, and IV, i, are in *The Witch*.

- (2) A number of verbal correspondences between the two plays have been pointed out. One of these concerns, III, v, 13, the line mentioned above under 4. (See Furness' edition, p. 388 ff.)
7. Rhyme-tags.
- (1) There is a larger number of these than in any other play of Shakespeare (though not in proportion to the number of the scenes).
- (2) Many of them are strikingly weak.
8. Hecate speaks in 4-accent iambic lines. The weird sisters speak regularly in 4-accent trochaic lines. So do Puck, Oberon, and Titania in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, when they use 4-accent lines.
9. Forman's testimony might seem to indicate that the play, as he saw it, began with I, III, 38 (see Furness' edition, p. 384), or at least had very little before that.

Scene III, Act IV, is much more minutely elaborated than any other portion of the play. Professor Barrett Wendell even suggests that this scene is "the single remaining fragment of a more elaborate play than now remains, or else that it was either written in a momentary lapse of mood, or inserted later, when the emotional impulse which pervades *Macbeth* had subsided" (*William Shakspeare*, p. 303).

Shakespeare was not such a careful play-wright that we can necessarily expect a play of his to be entirely free from difficulties and inconsistencies; but these are too numerous and important in the case of *Macbeth* to be attributed entirely to carelessness and chance. Two main theories are held concerning the composition of this drama. These may be expressed as follows:

1. The play was written by Shakespeare as we have it, except the songs (which are only referred to), and possibly the speeches of Hecate. It was written in great haste, perhaps for some special occasion. This is, in general, the view of White.

Probably the last editor of *Macbeth* is Mr. E. K. Chambers, in the *Arden Shakespeare*. The passages which he believes to have been interpolated by a later hand are three: III, v; IV, i, 39-43; and IV, i, 125-132 (p. 164).

2. The play has been much altered from the form in which Shakespeare wrote it. I specify two particular forms of this general theory:—

(a). In the form in which we have it the play has been somewhat extensively interpolated, probably by Middleton. This is the view of Clark and Wright.

(b). Fleay conjectures that the MS. of the play was burnt with the Globe Theatre in 1613, that the play was imperfectly recovered from the actors, and that this outline sketch was filled out by Middleton (see Fleay's article in Vol. VII of *Anglia*).

Although the point is not connected with my immediate purpose, I wish to call attention to the following passage:—

“Before my body
I throw my warlike shield.”

V, VIII, 32-33.

Clark and Wright think that these words have been interpolated; and Hudson marks them as not genuine in the *Harvard Shakespeare*. I have already expressed in these *Publications* my opinion concerning the soundness of such a method of criticism.¹ Many will gladly endorse the comment of Mr. Chambers: “Surely no critic can seriously persuade himself that he has a sense of style delicate enough to determine whether these words are Shakespeare's or not.”²

IV. THE WORDS OF THE SLEEP-WALKING SCENE.

The power of the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth* is due primarily, it seems to me, to the impressive situation, rather than to the inherent forcibleness of the broken sentences which

¹ Vol. V, p. 264.

² *Arden Macbeth*, p. 169.

are spoken by the guilty queen. A strong drama puts before us vivid scenes from real life. But in real life itself, men are continually masking and posing. Not only do we mask and pose to one another, we do it to ourselves, and that continually. In this powerful scene, however, more real than real life, the mask falls off, all disguises drop away, and that which confronts us is a naked soul.

It is also true that the great dramatist has given especial potency to the words of this scene. The few and seemingly chance utterances of Lady Macbeth have an inspired adequacy. The phrases cut like a knife,—like the dagger that stabbed Duncan. Note the fitness of the simple words which come at the end of the second speech of the sleeping queen :

“Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?”

When Lady Macbeth first incited her husband to make away with Duncan, she willed the death of the aged king indeed, but not its shocking accessories. She thought not of them. When Macbeth comes from the murdered one, she urges him :

“Go get some water,
And wash this filthy witness from your hand.”

II, II, 46-7.

But not yet does she appreciate the spectacle that the inner chamber has in store for her. She starts to carry back the daggers, saying,

“If he do bleed,
I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal;
For it must seem their guilt.”

II. 55-7.

With this thought *If he do bleed* in her mind, she enters the chamber, and views the startling sight which her eyes are to behold forever.

The ordinary peace-loving man is as little prepared to appreciate what she saw as she was to see it. Such an one is unfac-

miliar with the shedding of human blood, knows not how easily and abundantly it can flow. Even the harmless flesh-wounds received by German students in their duels quickly cover with blood the floor upon which they stand. And the woman's heart of Lady Macbeth was all unprepared to behold the streaming life-blood of the kindly old king, pleading

"trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off."

The ghastly vision prints itself indelibly upon her brain; and all her womanly sensibilities receive a shock which only the long remorse of coming days and the restless torture of coming nights can adequately measure.

But she is not the woman to turn back now. She dips her hand in the old man's blood and smears the faces of the sleeping grooms. The sight, the feeling of the warm blood upon her little hand, and the odor of it, are strange experiences to her. What if she should find herself unable to wash off the stain? What if Heaven should doom her to carry the mute witness of guilt about with her forever? At least it seems a terrible while to this "dearest chuck" playing a Fury's part before the blood is cleansed away. The dreadful memory of all this comes out in the troubled dream of the sleep-walker, in the frightened cry:

"What, will these hands ne'er be clean?"

Holmes, in the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, calls attention to the intimate connection between the sense of smell and the memory. Most persons can testify that certain odors bring back the scenes of one's childhood with a vividness which is more intense than that caused by any other stimulus. It is largely the odors of the spring-time that bind together all the years of the past and the rapture of the present season. It is, in a great measure, these pungent odors that make

"the soul's fresh youth with tender truth
Still spring to the springing grass."

Maurice Thompson sings :—

“A breath from tropical borders,
Just a ripple, flowed into my room,
And washed my face clean of its sadness,
Blew my heart into bloom.”

This subtle sense of smell can also summon up from the past that which is awful. Listen to the guilty queen :—

“Here’s the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh, oh, oh!”

After this night of horrors she will not dare again to face the kindly shadows that God intended for repose. She will give command that light be by her continually.

Thus does Lady Macbeth once more live through, in restless dreaming, the murder of Duncan. Once more by sight and touch and smell has her sensitive spirit been wounded. Through hearing alone among the nobler senses has she received no shock. But hark! again that startling challenge comes through the darkness!

“There’s knocking at the gate: come, come, come, give me your hand. What’s done cannot be undone.—To bed, to bed, to bed!”

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

VIII.—THE *NIBELUNGEN* LIED AND *SAGE* IN MODERN POETRY.

In an article, entitled *Nibelungensage und Nibelungendichtungen*, which appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* a little over a year ago (October, 1894), Dr. A. Schmidt, after a summary of the entire *Nibelungensage* and a comparison of this *Sage* with the form it assumes in the *Nibelungenlied*, makes the following statement: "Though it would be madness after Homer to reconstruct anew the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in poetic form, after the mediæval author it is really a religious duty of German poets who have the interests of their nation at heart to recast into higher forms the imperfectly coined *Nibelungen* treasure." In these words the essayist expresses not merely a personal opinion, but echoes the sentiments of many other German critics,¹ and above all of over forty authors who, with over fifty different productions in drama and epic poetry, have tried to recast into 'higher forms' the *Nibelungensage* as a whole or in part. This large number of attempts includes three or four dramatic sketches, but does not include the 'lower forms' of lyric and ballad poetry, or of prose narrative. After the clear and thorough discussion of *Nibelungen* dramas by Professor Carl Weitbrecht,² it might seem unnecessary to discuss this part of the general subject any further, but there are certain aspects of this question which he has not touched upon which it is the purpose of this paper to consider; and, while there is complete agreement with the views advanced by Prof. Weitbrecht, yet the attempt will be made to show that his conclusions do not warrant the same approval.

¹ Weitbrecht, Röpe, Piper and others; cf. Piper: *Die Nibelungen*, I. Theil (Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationallitteratur*. Bd. 6, Abth., II, p. 184).

² *Die Nibelungen im Modernen Drama*. Eine Antrittsvorlesung (gehalten den 5 Nov., 1892, am Eidgen. Polytechnikum in Zürich). Zürich, 1892.

The question as to whether the treasure of the *Nibelungen-sage* has been, or can be, 'recast into higher forms,' either of drama or of epic poetry, is an eminently practical one, aesthetic or dramaturgic theorizings can prove or establish nothing. The poetic value of the existing Nibelungen dramas cannot be determined in long philosophical discussions as to the propriety of using myths as a source of dramatical subjects, of the nature of 'dramatic guilt' (Aristotle's *ἀμαρτία*), of the theoretical differences between the drama and the epic, but in the case of each drama before us for criticism, we must simply ask, Has the poet in his play really mastered the difficulties inherent in the subject matter; has he created a living tragedy, one which, by its poetic beauty and dramatic power, carries away reader and spectator alike, and exacts the tribute of admiration from even those critics who, in their studies, would measure the beauties of living poetry by the canons of dead philosophical speculation? And we have a right to demand more; for, if we are to call any modern dramatic reproduction a 'higher form' than the *Nibelungenlied*, it must rank as high at least in the domain of tragedy as the mediæval German poem does amongst the epics of the world's literature. Where the modern poet would rival the old epic in its own field and try to re-create the *Sage* or the *Nibelungenlied* in epic form, he himself challenges 'odious comparison,' and has no reason to complain, because he cannot pass off debased metal stamped with the stamp of the genuine gold, or beguile us into believing that he is no longer a wren, because, forsooth, he has fluttered a little higher than the eagle, upon whose back he has been carried into the high heavens.

These practical criteria simplify immensely the task before us. It seems an appalling labor to try to determine which of the forty poets has performed most successfully 'his religious duty to the German nation,' and which drama or epic of the fifty bodies forth the 'higher form' of the Nibelungen treasure. But even German theorists have been able to agree upon the elimination of most of the forty authors and the most enthu-

siastic of German critics, with all their exaggerated pride in their national literature and their aesthetic magnifying-glasses, can find only four poets worthy of serious consideration¹—Geibel,² Hebbel³ and Richard Wagner⁴ amongst the dramatists; and William Jordan⁵ who essayed the *Nibelunge* in two long epics. Nowhere does there appear even a reference to William Morris' *Sigurd the Volsung*⁶ in the essays of German writers, but why they should utterly ignore so important a production is not easy to understand. For, in poetic power and beauty, both of conception and execution, it ranks at least as high as any of the productions of the above named authors. Some of the 'moderns' would include also amongst the more important works based upon the *Nibelungensage* Ibsen's *Chieftains of Helgeland*,⁷ which reveals a great deal of dramatic force and presents a thoroughly interesting modern realistic conception of the old hero-myth. Yet, since it lacks poetic form and diction, and makes no pretense to 'higher form,' it can hardly be ranked as a poetical production in a strict sense.

Passing over for the present the epics of Jordan and Morris to apply the practical tests to the dramas of Geibel, Hebbel and Wagner, we still find that no very perplexing problems of critical acumen or literary discrimination present themselves to the impartial judge who possesses only a moderate amount of critical literary taste. The dramas of Geibel and Hebbel

¹ Röpe, v. Muth, Bulthaupt, Weitbrecht.

² Emanuel Geibel, *Brunhilde: Eine Tragödie aus der Nibelungen Sage*. Stuttgart, 1857.

³ F. Hebbel, *Die Nibelungen*. Trauerspiel. 3 Teile: 1. *Der gehörnte Siegfried*; 2. *Siegfrieds Tod*; 3. *Kriemhilds Rache*. Hamburg, 1862.

⁴ R. Wagner, *Der Ring der Nibelungen*: 1. *Das Rheingold*; 2. *Die Walküre*; 3. *Siegfried*; 4. *Die Götterdämmerung*. Presented as a whole at Bayreuth, 1876.

⁵ Wilhelm Jordan, *Die Nibelunge*. 2 Theile: 1^{tes} Lied, *Sigfridsage*. Frankfurt, 1869; 2^{tes} Lied, *Hildebrands Heimkehr*. Frankfurt, 1875.

⁶ Wm. Morris, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungs*. London, 1876.

⁷ Henrik Ibsen, *Härmændene paa Helgeland*. Christiania, 1858. German: *Die Nordische Herrfahrt*. Reclam 2633.

may be a prominent feature and take up much space in the histories of German literature and in critical essays on the German drama, but they constitute no important part of the repertoires of the German stage and seem to occupy but a very small place in the favor of the German theatre-going public.¹ These plays are rarely presented, whilst the classic plays of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Kleist, yes even of Grillparzer and Ludwig, are being played all the time and in every city of importance. This state of affairs proves only one of two things. Either the Germans are, and will remain, hopelessly unappreciative of the 'higher' form of the *Lied* as presented by these authors, or else (and who could fail to recognize the fact?) the poets have failed in their attempts. As for the reading public the facts are still more striking.² The *Nibelungenlied*, in the original and in a

¹ It was impossible for the writer to get approximately accurate information of the repertoires of the theatres in Berlin and Munich, but in the two years from 1887 to 1889, though following carefully the plays given in these two capitals, he could find no announcement of the performance of either. Hebbel's *Nibelungen* was restaged and presented last winter at Berlin, the first time for eight years at least, and probably for a longer period. During the last eight years the writer has chanced upon only one other notice of the performance of these plays—Geibel's in New York, Hebbel's once in Frankfurt, and once in Hannover. Undoubtedly they are presented oftener, but, if very often, one would expect to see more frequent notices of their production. In Vienna, Hebbel's home during the last years of his life, his trilogy is one of the stock plays of the *Burgtheater*; in fact Pröls, one of Hebbel's most enthusiastic admirers (in his *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, vi, 251), claims that this theatre is the only place where it can be properly performed—a rather dubious compliment in view of the excellent productions of the German classic dramas and Shakespeare in the comparatively small cities of Germany.

² Simrock's translation is one of some thirty German translations of the *Nibelungenlied* into modern German. It reached its tenth edition in 1856, Geibel's *Brunhild* appearing in 1857; Simrock in 1889 was in its forty-ninth edition, Geibel in 1890 in its fifth. Simrock's translation passed through thirty-five editions while Hebbel's *Nibelungen* was passing through three. The large number of editions of the original text and the repeated reprints of these (e. g. Lachmann's has been reprinted eleven times, Zarncke's six) prove still more the popularity of the *Nibelungenlied* amongst the German people. The Germans cannot, at any rate, be called indifferent to their great poetic treasures.

large number of translations, has passed through, and is still passing through edition after edition, while Geibel's *Brunhild*, the earlier of the two dramas, is now only in its fifth, Hebbel's *Nibelungen* in its third edition. It is true, beyond all doubt, that 'in literature excellence cannot be counted by the numbering of heads,' yet when one considers the strong patriotic enthusiasm of the Germans for their literature, their exaggerated admiration of their native poets, the constant interest kept alive by the various literary cliques and cults, such bare, prosaic facts do mean something, and have decided weight in estimating the literary and dramatic value of the dramas under consideration.

The general attitude of German critics is decidedly in favor of Hebbel's *Nibelungen*, as compared with the *Brunhild* of Geibel, though they allow the greater poetic beauties of the latter. But let any unbiased reader weigh the testimony of Prölss,¹ Bulthaupt,² Gottschall,³ or even of Hebbel himself in his introduction to the play, and judge whether they establish their claims and make clear that even Hebbel has really created a drama which will take a place and live on with the greatest dramas of German literature; whether his drama occupies anywhere near the proud position which the *Lied* claims for itself in the literary productions of Germany. Their condemnatory criticism of such defects as cannot be defended, their apology for the other weak points in the drama, the excessive warmth and unnecessary enthusiasm in their praise of its good features prove only too clearly how far below a successful and truly great drama they feel it to be. Or rather let the reader go to the plays themselves, read them and re-read them, if necessary, and decide for himself whether they approximate in the least to the simple grandeur, the

¹ Robert Prölss, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, VI, 329.

² Heinrich Bulthaupt, *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*. 3rd edition. 1891, III, p. 159 f.

³ R. v. Gottschall, *Die Deutsche Nationallitteratur des 19^{ten} Jahrhunderts*. 1891, III, 500.

power and the rugged beauty of the *Nibelungenlied*, with all its imperfections. He can reach only one decision;¹ notwithstanding the great ingenuity of dramatic structure, the occasionally beautiful and powerful passages, both dramas fall far below their source in poetic value and beauty. And as for Wagner (whose trilogy, to receive any consideration in this connection, must be judged as a drama pure and simple, entirely apart from the music) Weitbrecht's final verdict² seems thoroughly sound and the only correct one: "Wagner deserves great credit for his dramatic conception of the subject, but he was not enough of a poet not to fall short of his conception in the actual poetical execution." And with Weitbrecht we must reach the final conclusion that the *Nibelungen-sage* is still waiting for the coming of the poet who will give it its definitive form.³ Röpe⁴ has called the Sage a Brunhild waiting for a delivering Siegfried; a beautiful metaphor and truer than appears on the surface, for all the weakling wooers in their attempts to subdue and win her met only with defeat and disgrace.

Why have the German poets failed? It is not the main purpose in this paper to discuss the peculiar inherent difficulties in the *Lied* and *Sage* which offer such obstacles to their successful dramatization, but simply to call attention to and emphasize those already pointed out in former discussions of this general subject, and then to proceed to the treatment of one aspect of this question which has not been touched upon before by any writer, and yet would seem to be of the highest importance. Fr. Theodor Vischer, in a short essay, *Vorschlag zu einer Oper*,⁵ was the first to discern and state clearly the first great practical difficulty in using the characters and motives of the *Sage* and *Lied* for a drama. "Endow these men of iron, these Titan-women with the eloquence

¹ Cf. Weitbrecht.

² Weitbrecht, p. 36.

³ Weitbrecht, p. 37.

⁴ Röpe, *Die Modernen Nibelungendichtungen*. Hamburg, 1869.

⁵ *Kritische Gänge*, II, 389. Tübingen, 1844. Cf. also Freytag: *Die Technik des Dramas* (seventh edition, 1894), pp. 40; 243 and 244.

which the drama demands, with the sophistry of passion, with self-introspection, with the capacity to analyze their emotions, to justify, to doubt them, which qualities are absolutely essential to tragic characters, and they have lost their identity; their grandeur is to such an extent inseparable from their taciturnity, their self-centred depth of character which finds no expression in words, their ruggedness, that they will cease to be what they are, and yet cannot be changed to something else which might please or deeply affect us." Every Nibelungen drama, written before or since, has confirmed abundantly the truth of every word of this statement. Raupach's *Nibelungen Hort* shows fluency and facility, but absolutely no depth. In Geibel we are being offended continually by the weak sentimental and lyrical effusions of Siegfried and Chriemhild, by their thoroughly modern moral and philosophical speeches and reflexions, beautiful in themselves, but all out of keeping with the background and the characters of the drama. Hebbel has more nearly approached the ruggedness of the original, but there are only too frequent discordant notes of modern sentiment and thought, and the whole is marred by the mysticism and symbolism, unclear and confusing, even to the author himself, which pervade the entire drama and detract so much from the naturalness and effective simplicity of the characters and the plot.² And Wagner's ethical and philosophical views incorporated in his characters, in influencing their actions and dialogue, weaken noticeably the direct and powerful impression made upon the spectator by the simple greatness and grand conception of his characters. The *Nibelungenlied* may 'show no trace of creative faculty, either in unity of purpose or style, the proper characteristics of literature;' it may 'not

¹ E. Raupach, *Der Nibelungen Hort*. Hamburg, 1834. It was a very popular stage drama at the time of its appearance and remained in the repertoire of the *Burgtheater* in Vienna till 1857. Cf. *Allgem. Zeitung*, Beilage 227, 228, Sept. 29 and 30, 1891.

² Cf. Röpe, Bulthaupt and others; also R. v. Muth, *Einleitung in das Nibelungenlied*, 1877, p. 419 ff.

have the higher charm of art,' but it is a great poem nevertheless, and notwithstanding the severe criticisms of Lowell.¹ And it is a great poem because of its grand simplicity; its characters are great poetic characters because so one sided; its conflicts so overwhelmingly tragic because they are the conflicts of elemental passions. If a poet weaken any one of these features, he ruins the very essence of the beauty and power of the original.

Furthermore some critics assert that Siegfried is not a 'tragic' character as defined by Aristotle in his *Poetics* (Chap. XIII, 4). Technically such an objection is unfounded and practically the modern drama does allow the introduction of such guiltless characters—Cordelia, Desdemona, King Duncan and Thekla in *Wallenstein*. And what are Antigone and Cassandra in *Agamemnon* of the ancient drama but 'guiltless' characters?² In its essence, however, the objection is well-grounded, though the root of the trouble lies deeper. It lies in the fascination which the glorious character of Siegfried exercises over poet and public alike. It leads the poet to endow him with all the qualities of beauty, bravery and virtue which we admire in a man, and thus, unintentionally perhaps, to make him the dominating hero, the protagonist, of the first half of the tragedy, throwing out of all balance and perverting the entire plot. The spectators also are carried away by the irresistible charm of the hero, which the poet furthermore sets forth in his most glowing colors, that Siegfried's death will seem to them either an unwarranted brutal murder, and therefore abhorrent; or else, a glorious transfiguration and consequently untragic. The modern poet in dramatizing the *Nibelungensage* has the choice of following either the Norse or the German version, but in either form Siegfried is not and ought not to be made the chief hero of

¹ In his essay on Dante.

² Cf. Günther, *Grundsätze der Tragischen Kunst*. Berlin, 1885, pp. 106, 449, 450. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, &c. London, 1895, p. 287.

the resulting drama. In the old northern story the protagonist is undeniably Brunhild. Once an immortal war-maid, but offending against the will of the Godfather, because of human weakness, and therefore degraded to mortality, though with the promise of the love of the bravest and best of men, she is betrayed, bartered away by her own hero for the love of another woman. In revenge she accomplishes the death of the perjured, though guiltless, lover. But his death is her's also, and the tragedy ends with the beautiful, all-atoning union in death of these two well-mated favorites of the gods, whom the pitiless Norns had sundered in life. In this version of the plot Siegfried is only a secondary character; like Desdemona in Shakspeare's *Othello*, he falls a victim to the conspiring evil powers of fate and human intrigue. To attempt to make him the chief hero is to miss absolutely the tragic essence of the story and to expose the drama to serious dangers of structure, of which later.¹ Into this error Geibel fell. In opera Wagner could, without any serious risk, make Siegfried's character as prominent as he did; the weakness in his drama is due to other causes.

If, on the other hand, the dramatist adopts the version in the *Nibelungenlied*, he will be confronted with the same embarrassing difficulty, for here the leading characters are Chriemhild and Hagen, and the conflict between these two titanic embodiments of loyalty is the theme of the poem. The more one studies the *Lied*, the more prominently this fact stands out, the more one appreciates the greater power and rugged grandeur of the second part of the epic, when these two Titans close for the final conflict. Siegfried's death is really only an episode; his part a subordinate one. The poetic instinct of the early German nations in their creation of the earliest songs underlying their national epic clearly recognized this fact. It may have been the wandering glee-men, when they attempted to put into one connected cycle the scattered independent songs sung among the people; or possi-

¹ Cf. Günther, p. 107 f.; also Butcher, pp. 288, 289, 308, 309.

bly the redactor of the *Nibelungenlied*, when he fixed its present form, who tried to give the various episodes their due proportion in the whole. Since, in the German *Sage*, Chriemhild appeared as the instigator and prime-mover in the destruction of the Burgundians at Etzel's court, in order to avenge the treacherous death of her husband, the old Norse *Sage* demanded an artistic reconstruction. If Chriemhild was to be the central figure, Brunhild must give way to her and be thrust into the background; the story of her early life, her rescue and betrayal by Siegfried must be reduced to a minimum, in order to palliate the wrong Siegfried had done her. Thus, by making his death a more unwarrantable, heinous crime, the ferocity and ruthlessness of Chriemhild's vengeance is more justified and is poetically more artistic. Yet so powerful was the beautiful myth, so deeply rooted in popular fancy was the old tale of the early loves of Brunhild and Siegfried, that it could not be entirely eradicated, it blossomed through in the new version, though stunted and robbed of all its former beauty and loveliness. In the *Lied*, as we have it to-day, it is an unclear, disturbing element; it haunts us like a troublesome memory, which we cannot banish and yet the real nature of which we cannot fathom. As in the dramatization of the Norse *Sage*, the attempt to make Siegfried the protagonist of the dramatized *Lied* leads to the same dramatic faults. Either his death will seem untragic, or the attempt to attach to him 'tragic guilt,' will prove offensive or ridiculous when presented upon the stage.

Again, what is the dramatic adapter of the *Lied* to do with Brunhild after Siegfried's death? Like Siegfried she has served her poetic purpose, but unlike Siegfried, death has not taken her out of the poet's way. The epic simply drops her, without any further concern; Hebbel treats her even more shabbily, particularly in view of all the dramatic show and splendor of her introduction; Wilbrandt¹ treats her as does Hebbel; Raupach makes her drown herself to avoid capture

¹ Adolf Wilbrandt, *Kriemhild*. Wien, 1877.

and disgrace amongst the Huns. Waldmüller¹ makes Providence kindly send down a destructive bolt of lightning for her and his own special benefit. In every case her fate is unsatisfactory from a poetical standpoint and leaves an inartistic blemish in the whole.

If, notwithstanding these risks, the poet deliberately decides to grapple boldly with this danger, to make Siegfried his leading hero, to endow him with all the manly virtues, and yet with guilt enough to dramatically justify his tragic ending, he will come upon a practical difficulty, which has proved the great stumbling block of every one of his predecessors in the same field, the invention of a dramatic episode which will not offend in its presentation on the stage, and yet make perfectly clear to the spectator Siegfried's crime against Brunhild. In the opera, where the music removes the whole action into the domain of feeling and sentiment, and, therefore, of mystery and transcendentalism, the drink of forgetfulness is a thoroughly satisfactory motive even on the stage. In the drama such a device is not permissible when so much of the sequel depends upon it. Consequently the dramatizers of the *Nibelungen* are obliged to recast that part of the plot dealing with the early love of Brunhild and Siegfried, and, for the exciting cause of the former's desire for vengeance and the latter's death, to resort to the same incident (or one based upon it) which is found in the German epic, the fateful subjugation of Brunhild in the bridal chamber, and the theft of her girdle and ring. While this episode told with such *naïveté* in the epic does not offend, on the stage it will always be unsatisfactory and offensive. The feeble substitutions of Wilbrandt, Hebbel and Waldmüller are really more objectionable. Nor, judged by the morals of the times, the ruggedness, yes coarseness of character in the old German heroes, does it seem at all inconsistent with Siegfried's nobility of character to give his wife the girdle and ring taken in such a struggle, for no other reason than 'durch sinen hōhen muot.'² But in none of the

¹ Robt. Waldmüller, *Brunhild*. Dresden, 1863. Reclam, 511.

² Lachmann, *Der Nibelunge Noth*, 6282.

dramas, based upon the epic, has this episode been at all satisfactorily treated. The whole incident of Brunhild's betrayal seems by its nature destined ever to remain a stone of stumbling to the would-be author of a Nibelungen drama. And yet it cannot be omitted; it is too important a link in the chain of dramatic sequence.¹

Finally, according to the consensus of all critics, no one of the modern poets has been able to compress successfully into one drama, or even into a connected series of dramas, the immense mass of subject-matter contained in the *Sage*, nor to shake off entirely the restricting fetters of the old epic form. In discussing Greek tragedy, though the epic elements they retained were considerable, and the long messengers' recitals were even considered artistic, Aristotle nevertheless keeps cautioning constantly against the dangers of the epic structure of the drama. In one passage he gives a piece of information which the Nibelungen dramatizer would do well to ponder over. He says (xviii, 5): "The poets who have dramatized the whole story of the Fall of Troy, instead of selecting portions, like Euripides, or who, unlike Aeschylus, have taken the whole tale of Niobe, either fail utterly or figure badly on the stage." It is disturbing, almost painful, to see in the best of the Nibelungen dramas the desperate efforts of their authors to force into dramatic form either undramatic elements, or such episodes of the poem as are not presentable on the stage.² Only too frequent are the long epic narratives, in the form of dialogue to be sure, but a dialogue in which one of the characters is degraded to a mere interlocutor. Not less unfrequent is the transparent stage device of making some actor on the stage describe to the others on the stage and to the spectator some event taking place behind the scenes, which would be practically impossible or absurd upon the stage. All dramatists, great and lesser, are obliged to resort to such transparent, mechanical devices, but only when sparingly used are they

¹ Cf. Weitbrecht, pp. 16, 17. Freytag, *Technik*, p. 247.

² Cf. Günther, p. 406.

effective ; frequently employed, they destroy all necessary illusion and kill all the dramatic interest of the spectator.

And yet, though these difficulties have proved serious obstacles to the successful dramatization of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage*, successful being used here in the highest sense, in themselves they are not insurmountable, indeed every one of them has been successfully solved by the one or the other of the authors, though no one has solved them all. There is, however, one great difficulty, to which no one before has called attention, but which seems to be by far the most serious, which affects all the others, meets the reconstructing poet at every step and makes it as great an act of madness to try to 'recast the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage* into a higher form,' as it would be to attempt the same thing with the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. A consideration of this difficulty is interesting and necessary not only in this discussion concerning modern Nibelungen poetry, but seems also to have a general literary interest, which makes a detailed treatment well worth the while.

Forty authors, some of them poets of considerable poetic and dramatic power, have felt called by the Muse, but none has been chosen. They have reconstructed and given new shape to the old mythical stories and epics, but only in 'figures of water and sand,' as Hebbel puts it. And why have they failed? What is the great weakness, the pervading lack of all the modern creations? The greatest defect of all, in a work of poetry, the lack of poetic inspiration, of creative imagination, of artistic invention. The creative phantasy, the 'fine frenzy' of the poet is hemmed and restricted in its attempted flight, the realm of imagination is not clear before it, its poetic images already 'have a local habitation and a name.' There is nothing left for the poet to create, his characters have all received definite shape, yes, the very thoughts in their minds, the words on their lips, and all the details of his plot are already constructed and forced upon him. The poet can only patch and fit together in dramatic form. He is no longer a poet, but simply a dramatizer, a higher kind of dramatic adapter. The materials of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage*

had for generations been in the workshop of the poetic phantasy of the Germanic tribes and had been shaped in their main outlines even before the time of the wandering gleemen. They, in their turn, wrought and fashioned until characters and incidents took even more individual forms and relations. Finally came the poet (or *redactor*, if you will) of the *Nibelungenlied* itself, who gathered all the poetic productions of his predecessors and composed (or put together) the *Lied* in its present form—with many imperfections, it may be, but in its conception, its outlines, its simple directness, one of the great poems of the world's literature. What then is left for the imagination of the modern poet? All distinctly poetic work has been done in the past; he can combine anew possibly, but the result will never be a work of poetry in the highest sense, an organic whole, the product of free poetic creation. Hebbel, in the epilogue of *Die Nibelungen*, says of his own work: "The task consisted only in this, to unite into a dramatic chain the episodes of the tragedy and to give them poetic life wherever it was necessary." He has performed his task and done it well, but that is all; the result, however, is not a great drama, but an excellent adaptation, with some poetic power and containing some passages of distinct poetic beauty. This very form of poetic invention Lessing touches upon in the *Laokoon* (Chap. xi). After discussing the definition of 'poetic invention as applied to the plastic arts,' he proceeds to say: "It is invention, but not invention of the whole, but rather of individual parts and of their mutual relations. It is invention of that inferior kind, such as Horace recommended to his tragic poet:

‘*Tuque
Rectius Iliacum, carmen deducis in actus
Quam si proferres, ignota indicta primus.*’¹

¹*Ars Poetica*, vv. 128–130. Byron (*Hints from Horace*, vv. 183 ff.) paraphrases thus:

"Tis hard to venture where our betters fail
Or lend fresh interest to a twice told tale.
And yet 'tis perchance wiser to prefer
A hackneyed plot, than to choose a new and err."

Recommended, I say, but did not command. Recommended as being easier, more convenient, more profitable, but did not command as being better and nobler in itself." If Lessing, whose poetry has always been criticized chiefly because it seems the product of the intellect rather than of fancy, whose *technique*, particularly in the drama, is almost above criticism, speaks so disparagingly of this form of poetic invention, what shall we of to-day, who put phantasy and imagination almost at the very top of poetic qualities, say to the poet who contemplates the dramatization of the old German epic?¹

But has not the poet the right, which really amounts to an obligation, to change the original, to treat his details with absolute poetic license, and thus to give free range to his imagination and phantasy? Read Waldmüller's *Brunhild*, or plod through extravagant absurdities of Jordan's epic, due to their attempts to free themselves from the influence of their sources and to give free rein to their poetic fancy, and you will be able to appreciate, as in no other way, to what extremes of insipidity and grotesqueness, such license is likely to lead. There is, however, an entirely different aspect of the matter to be considered. The *Nibelungenlied*, for over a century, has been a highly valued, living possession of the cultured world, being continually brought before it in the original, in translations, in prose paraphrases, in works of art, in the figurative

¹ This line of argument applies with equal truth to the dramatization of the modern novel.* Such attempts almost never produce real dramas for the very same reasons; the resulting plays are dialogized stories, generally poorer than their sources and seldom rising above the commonplace. As the dramatic critic, in a recent number of the *Critic* (April 20, '95), said apropos of the dramatization of *Trilby*, 'nobody has ever succeeded or is likely to succeed in really dramatizing a novel.' This is as true of a great epic, as of the novel. Of course, the novels from which Shakspeare obtained his plots are so different from the modern novel that they disprove nothing above stated (cf. Freytag, *Technik*, p. 299).

* Since writing this note the attention of the writer has been called to an essay by Brander Matthews, entitled *The Dramatisation of Novels* in his *Studies of the Stage* (New York, Harpers, 1894). This essay discusses this subject in detail and, with the knowledge of a recognized authority, establishes conclusively the truth of the above conclusions.

language of poetry, history and politics.¹ Its story and its characters are so well known that almost the slightest change in the original will immediately excite notice. And, with the strong pragmatic and realistic make-up of our minds, we either mentally protest at such a change, or else cannot give ourselves up to the full enjoyment of the poetry, while our mind is distracted with questions of fact. The theorist may declaim against such philistinism and plead the sovereign rights of poetic freedom, but he cannot do away with the fact. The ordinary spectators or readers resent any violation of what is to them an actuality and the cultured will find themselves in a constant state of indignant protest against the irreverential disregard of what is to them an almost sacred possession, the hallowed traditions and creations of the poetry of the past.²

¹And to these all must be added the tremendous popularity and familiarity of Wagner's operas, which, as dramas pure and simple, fall far short of being a worthy re-creation of the old saga, but yet in which the composer, in the realm of *another* and that too of the preëminently *modern* art, music, has given the highest and worthiest modern expression to the pervading spirit, sentiment and passion of the old Germanic *Siegfriedsage*. It might be well to bear in mind also, that, of the operas constituting the *Nibelungen* tetralogy, the one generally considered the greatest and most effective, both musically and dramatically, is *Die Walküre*, the materials for which Wagner found in the crudest state.

²A part of this paper was first read before the Modern Language Club of Yale University. After its reading Dr. Corwin called the attention of the writer to the subjoined passage in Kuno Fischer's *Goethes Faust*, which is such a direct and complete confirmation of the position above asserted, that a full quotation of the passage in question hardly needs an apology. The quotation follows Wolcott's translation (Manchester, Iowa, 1895), p. 8.

"There are two quite opposite ways in which it is possible to make a mistake in the choice of materials for poems, and thus produce works which have no natural relation to the people for whom they are intended. This is the case when materials are taken which have no previous history in the minds of men of the age; which have not been handed down, felt and lived. . . .

"The other and opposite way is followed when materials are chosen, which by no means lack a previous history in the hearts of men, which are, in fact, most amply possessed of this essential—subjects which for centuries have occupied the soul and imagination of each succeeding genera-

The analogy between Nibelungen dramas and historical dramas is a very striking one in many respects, but particularly in the following features, namely, the restriction of poetic invention in following the sources too closely; the great danger at the present day of digressing from these sources; and the difficulty in the dramatic representation of

tion; but which have acquired such an authentic, familiar and inviolable form that we cannot wean ourselves from it, nor do we care to do so; form and matter have become so inseparable that the latter cannot be detached and transformed in the poet's workshop. *A subject which has a definite and established form familiar to the whole world should not be remodeled and treated with caprice by the poet.* No poet can vie with the Bible in the representation of biblical subjects.*

"Klopstock, when he set his hand to the composition of *The Messiah* made one of the most notable and most instructive mistakes of this sort in the history of our literature. Yet Klopstock was a true poet, and the spirit of the time was most favorable to his work.

"With Goethe's *Faust* it is quite different. Here the materials had become familiar to the people through association, but were, at the same time, in a very rude form (in the original: *ungestaltet und roh*) as yet. The grand features were, it is true, here and there discernible, but they lay buried in the raw material, being by this restrained as though in a chrysalis."

The following remarks by Andrew Lang in his *Introductory Essay to Le Morte D'Arthur*, vol. III of Sommer's edition (London, 1891), are also to the point. In the beginning of the essay he speaks of the familiarity of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* to the English people and of its great popularity. Later, in speaking of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, he says the following:

"The *Idylls*, on the other side, have a purpose, a purpose which the ancient romance unavoidably suggests, but which is not of a piece with the legend. New wine is put into old bottles. It may be doubted whether a poet is well advised when he deliberately treats the theme of another age in the spirit of to-day. . . . Or is this feeling (i. e., of the inconsistency of modern versions of romance) only part of our haunting archæological pedantry which, content with the heroes in the garb of their day, is vexed to find them familiar with our own involved speech, and more involved thought?"—Pp. xxii, xxiii. "Admirable as his (Tennyson's) words are for wisdom and music, and imperishable in our memories, the voice is not the voice of the Arthur whom we know" (p. xxiii).

* Milton's *Paradise Lost* is the exception which proves the rule. For, it is generally conceded, that those parts of that epic show the greatest poetic power and beauty which are not based upon the biblical narrative, as the whole conception of Satan and his host with their counsels and their machinations, but have been derived from Biblical 'hints, to which he gave such marvelous expansion.'

well-known and popular historical heroes. Lessing, in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (chapters 23, 24, 31, 33, 34), insists most strongly upon the right of poetic license in dealing with the facts of history in the drama, though insisting equally vigorously upon a rigid adherence to the characters of the historical personages represented. Lessing's views here, as always, are thoroughly sound in the main, but are somewhat dogmatic and too sweeping; furthermore, they have been decidedly modified, both by the development of art and literature, and by the onward march of civilization.¹ However, we may deplore the fact, the Nineteenth century is scientific and realistic to the last degree, and demands these same qualities of its stage and drama. And so, while Freytag's *Technik des Dramas* does not compare in keenness of judgment, breadth and depth of thought, and range of critical power with the *Dramaturgie*, while it may be a trifle mechanical, smack of philistinism and lack the highest and most delicate literary appreciation, yet it is thoroughly representative of the Nineteenth Century views and represents the sound sense of the large body of the best dramatic critics of to-day. Freytag rejects the *Nibelungenlied* entirely as a source of dramatic subjects, finds the Middle Ages particularly unsuitable for dramatic treatment² and, in the following quotations, seems to me to point out the great obstacles and difficulties which the poet meets when he undertakes to dramatize history. And, as a mere source of dramatic material, the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage* are as real to both poet and public as any historical narrative, its episodes and its persons are as actual as though they had really occurred and lived in the past centuries; in point of fact, they probably have a stronger hold on the mind and memory than the facts of pragmatic history. Substituting then *Nibelungensage* for the word 'history' where it occurs, and making the other slight changes necessary, Freytag's following words of advice ought to be well pondered and

¹ Cf. Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, 121.

² Freytag, p. 247 f.; cf. also Vischer, *Aesthetik*, Vol. III, pp. 1421, 1422.

heeded by every aspiring poet who feels called to put another Nibelungen drama into the world. He says (p. 239): "It is a matter of course that the poet will conserve faithfully the traditions of history where they serve his purpose and where they do not stand in his way. For our times, so advanced in the knowledge of history and former social conditions, keep a watchful eye upon the historical training of their dramatists. The young poet should take care not to give his heroes too little of their times, nor too much that is modern and inappropriate, and that modern sentiment in the characters should not seem to the cultured spectator contrary to the limitations and peculiarities of the soul-life of that olden time."

In treating of the changes every poet is constrained to make in the historical characters of any period, he gives the following warning to the dramatist (p. 256):

"The poet will ask himself whether the changes which he is obliged to make in every character of the past will not possibly become so great, that every resemblance of his picture to the historical period will disappear, and whether the ineradicable presuppositions of the plot have not become incompatible with a free treatment of it." Again (p. 37), "For as faith begins where knowledge ends, so poetry begins where history stops. Whatever history narrates ought to be to the poet only the frame into which he paints his brilliant colors, the most secret revelation of human nature; how can room and inward freedom be left to him if he consumes his best power in the presentation of a series of historical events." After an unfavorable criticism of Shakspeare's *Henry VIII.*, because of its too exact portrayal of the king, he reaches this conclusion (p. 238): "For similar reasons, it is a very difficult matter to introduce historical characters whose portrait has become popular, as that of Luther or Frederick the Great." Again on the same point (p. 299): "Furthermore, the conscientious poet in dealing with the not very numerous historical heroes who still live on in the memory of the people will discover new difficulties, which will restrict the freshness of his

creative powers." And similarly (p. 62): "The characters of Shakspeare, Goethe, Schiller are even worse off in the stage than in the novel or romance. All the worse, the more intimately their lives are known." Bearing these precepts in mind and searching the Nibelungen dramas, it would not be a hard task to find illustration upon illustration of mistakes and blemishes, which resulted from not heeding the sound advice contained in the above cited words of warning.¹ It

¹It is interesting to note that Shakspeare's greatest dramas are *not* his chronicle histories, but those drawn from the simple, crude novels and tales, which he could shape with unrestricted poetic license (cf. Freytag, p. 38). Of his histories those are generally considered weakest and poorest in which he followed his historical sources most closely, e. g., *Henry VI.* and *Henry VIII.*; those are regarded as his best in which he gave freest play to his creative imagination, e. g., *Henry IV.*, Parts 1 and 2. As Ten Brink said (*Lectures on Shakspeare*, New York, 1895, pp. 158, 159): "In reality politics and patriotism—not aesthetics alone—filled a very important part in the historical dramas of that time, and plays of this kind cannot be judged from the point of view of strict dramatic theory. The necessity of paying altogether unusual regard to the underlying story, the refractory character of that story, the abundance of facts and figures, the multitude of inevitable premises—all this does not, in many ways, allow the poet that symmetrical working out and transparent combination of motives, that intensifying of characteristics; above all, that concentration of dramatic interest, which theory justly demands of the drama" (cf. also Alois Brandl, *Shakspeare*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 59 ff., 212 ff.; Günther, pp. 348, 349; Barrett Wendell, *William Shakspeare*, New York, 1894, pp. 59, 212). Apparent exceptions are the three great Roman tragedies, *Julius Cæsar*, *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*. It would not be begging the question, nor an evasion of the point at issue, to say simply in regard to these, that everything is possible to the supreme genius, such as Shakspeare was. But that is not at all necessary. It is to be urged in explanation of these seeming exceptions, that the period of their composition was particularly favorable for the creation of the first two, as *Julius Cæsar* may be but the poetic public expression of the national feeling of that period, and *Coriolanus* the reflection of a great contemporaneous political event (Brandl, pp. 148, 149; 167, 168). While *Cleopatra* in herself is a most grateful theme for dramatic treatment, so that 'she has furnished the subject of two Latin, sixteen French, six English, and at least four Italian tragedies' (Rolfe, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Introduction, p. 22, from Mrs. Jameson's *Characteristics of Women*). Then it might be said, that the history of Rome is a source unusually rich in tragic conflicts, eminently adapted for dramatic representation, as Vischer claims (*Ästhetik*, Vol. III, pp. 1421, 1422). But, entirely

would be most wholesome for the aspiring dramatist of the *Nibelungen* to go through such a series of correcting exercises; the failures of the past might deter him from plunging too blindly into the practically hopeless task before him.¹

apart from even these considerations, it is to be noted that, in the first place, Plutarch has colored his characters and incidents with a view to poetic and dramatic effect. And, in the second place, a careful investigation and detailed comparison of the three dramas with their sources, would probably show that many, if not the majority, of the strongest scenes and incidents are those for which Shakspeare found his materials in Plutarch, either in crudest form or only hinted at. Which is the case in *Coriolanus*, and particularly so in the relations between Marc Antony and Cleopatra as represented by the poet, and in the brilliant dramatic portrayal of the latter (cf. Brandl, pp. 171, 187; also Wright's and Rolfe's editions of those two plays in their Introductions). In the third place, Shakspeare has dealt freely with his materials, wherever it suited his purpose, unmindful of his Plutarch, and has 'thrown a rich mantle of poetry over all, which is often wholly his own.' Even in *Julius Caesar* (notwithstanding Trench's statement, quoted in Wright's edition, p. XLV, that "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole play . . . is to be found in Plutarch"), he has so changed his source that, e. g., in the case of *Cicero*, 'the vain senator of Plutarch has become in Shakspeare a complete caricature, which has probably led many a modern historian to an unjust conception of him' (cf. Brandl, p. 147).

Schiller's historical dramas are peculiarly interesting in this connection. The greatest, *Wallenstein*, deals with a hero whose real character and inner purposes are still a matter of controversy amongst historians. The same fact is true of *Maria Stuart*; it was true of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* at Schiller's time, as well as of *Don Carlos* and of *Fiesko*, to a certain extent, so that Schiller, in almost every case, chose an interesting, unknown and really dubious character, and hence was free to shape his materials as suited his own fancy and dramatic purpose. Even in these, those are the particularly dramatic and powerful parts for which he received only the slightest or else no hints at all in his historic sources, e. g., the character of Posa and his famous interview with Philipp; the great scene (Act. III, scene 4) between Mary Stuart and Elizabeth, and the whole character and episode of Mortimer; the episode of Thekla and Max in the *Wallenstein*. For *Wilhelm Tell* modern investigation shows that there is no historical foundation at all; but, anyway, as Bellermann (*Schiller's Dramen*, Zweiter Theil, p. 346) says: "The power of this poetic creation lies rather in the individual, sublime and agreeable, affecting or overpowering pictures which are put before us as well as in the noble spirit which pervades and illuminates it than in the bold outline of the whole."

¹ Cf., for this entire paragraph, Günther, p. 393.

It might seem to some that the entire line of argument followed above, which is meant to decide against the practical possibility of a successful dramatization of the Nibelungen epic, is entirely refuted by the great tragedies of the Greek dramas—a body of dramatic literature, second to none in the world, a proud position conceded by all nations, ancient as well as modern. It might be said: “If the materials of these tragedies were taken to such a very great extent from the myths and epics of Greece, why should not our modern poets be able to repeat these literary achievements and create a modern drama or series of dramas based on a modern epic source, which will rank equally high?” A brief consideration of the nature of the Greek drama, of the character of the epical and mythical sources, and the use the Greek tragedians made of them, and also of the history of the rise and decline of the classical Greek tragedy will, however, tend to confirm the conclusions reached above, rather than to weaken their validity. In the first place, a Greek tragedy represents a climax¹ and not a development, which means, that all the antecedents of the plot are known to the audience or else related in the prologue. Occasionally these may be embodied in a choral ode, in a rhetorical monologue (*Rhesis*), or in a lyrical dialogue between one of the actors and the chorus (the *Commos*). In any case the poet was relieved of all the difficulties of the dramatic exposition—one of the chief difficulties in the way of modern dramatists, particularly of the *Nibelungenlied*. Furthermore, owing partly to the origin of the Greek drama, partly to the fondness of the Athenians for public recitals of the epic poems, and also to restrictions to movement and action upon the stage caused by the actor’s costume, epic recitals of even the most important dramatic events were considered artistic features of the drama rather than blemishes, such as the modern author avoids where possible. If such recitals were permissible on the modern stage, more than half the difficulty of dramatizing the *Nibelungensage* would vanish.

¹ Cf. Butcher, p. 336 f.

The Greek drama too represents the conflict of simple forces and characters ;¹ seldom do the latter, even in Euripides, embody that complexity of passion and emotion which is one of the essential features of the modern dramatic hero. Simplicity of motive and passion is the distinguishing mark of the characters of the *Nibelungensage*. It is in giving to these one sided characters the complexity of modern individuality where the poet always fails. The hero of the Greek tragedy, furthermore, appears only in one great crisis of life. While, to be sure, in such a situation the entire character may be epitomized, yet the Greek poet was relieved almost entirely of that complex characterization demanded in the romantic drama, which places its heroes in many varying situations, in order to illuminate his character from every possible side. The dialogue of the Greek drama is in structure simple, severe and unornate like Greek architecture, seldom, if ever, approaching the complicated, sensuously figurative and profusely ornamented style of the romantic Shakspeare, for instance. The purely poetical passages are to be found in the choral odes, the lyrical dialogues of actor and chorus, or in the set rhetorical *rhesis*. In this feature, also, the Nibelungen playwrights have failed ; sentimental, poetical speeches from the lips of the rugged characters of the old *Sage* always seem incongruous. Again, the moralizing reflexions on life and man, and on the great problem of human destiny are left to the Greek chorus ; the characters lack that intense consciousness of self and self-introspection of the modern man. Here again the nature of the Greek drama allowed the classical tragedians to avoid what is a rock of offense in the Nibelungen dramatizations with their 'iron-heroes' and 'titanic women.' Finally, the sacred character of the Greek dramas, the powerful aid of music and the religious dance carried the whole performance into an exalted sphere, the region of mystery, and made many features effective and dramatic which would seem unreal and impossible in modern tragedy. What the aid of music alone

¹ Cf. Butcher, p. 332 f. ; Günther, pp. 86, 197, 344, 345.

can do, how, with its mighty, entrancing power, it can carry us into supernatural realms and make us accept in the opera what in the ordinary drama the spectator would reject entirely as impossible or ridiculous, we can see in Wagner's *Nibelungen Ring*, in which gods and giants, water-nymphs and cloud-maidens, the dragon and the woodland-bird, the magic-cloak and the cup of forgetfulness are as real to us as they would be to the child in a fairy tale.

Welcker, in *Die Griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den Epischen Cyclus* (Bonn, 1839), has investigated the titles and sources of all known Greek dramas and dramatic fragments, and has shown that only a very small number were based upon the highly artistic *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,¹ but that by far the most were drawn from the lesser epics and the old Greek family myths;² that is, from such sources in which were to be found only the crude outlines of the plots and almost no artistic development of characters and motives. They were practically like the novel sources from which Shakspeare took so many of his plots. Full freedom was allowed the poet to create details, to fill in the outlines as the poetic demands of his drama required, and to vary his sources as long as no complete change of the main features was attempted.³ The Greek poets had not all the details of their plot given as they are fixed for the modern poet in the *Nibelungenlied*; their characters were not developed to the minutest detail as is the case with Siegfried, Brunhild, and all the Nibelungen heroes and heroines. And very seldom, if ever, do they take over as

¹Of the 78 tragedies attributed to Aeschylus only 28 are taken from the poems dealing with the Trojan War; and only 3 from the *Iliad* and the same number from the *Odyssey*. To Sophocles are attributed 86 tragedies, of which 44 are from the Trojan Epic Cycle, but only one is based upon the *Iliad* and 3 upon the *Odyssey*. Euripides found in the Trojan cyclic poems subjects for 28 of his 68 tragedies; only one (1) was taken from the *Iliad* and one (1)—about which, however, there is some uncertainty—from the *Odyssey*.

²Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, XXIII, 4; XIII, 5.

³Aristotle, XIV, 4 f.; cf. Welcker; Butcher, p. 331.

a whole the speech or language of their source, entirely unlike the modern Nibelungen dramatists, who do this frequently. Nor, as has already been mentioned, did they attempt to crowd into one drama or trilogy the entire Iliad or any entire cycle of myths, as our modern poets feel constrained to do with the story of the Nibelungen. And in addition to all this, it is to be remembered that the personages of the old Greek epics and myths, in point of development of character, morals and culture, were, by no means, as far removed from the Greeks of the fourth century before Christ as are the heroes of the *Nibelungensage* from the men of our own times. The men of Homer's time stood nearer the gods, were more heroic in the true sense than the Athenians of the time of Sophocles, to be sure, but the sacred character of the drama, the noble dignity and gravity of the actors, due both to convention and mechanical limitations, made such idealized tragic heroes necessary. But modern realism hardly endures their introduction even into the opera, and it requires all the genius of Wagner's noblest music to keep up the illusion and make possible the appearance of gods and superhuman characters upon the stage of to-day.

The history of the rise and decline of the Greek drama substantiates in the main the position taken in this paper, namely, that a poet who attempts to recast into the same or a different poetic form a subject, which has been poetically developed before him in a form which is widely and favorably known, will generally fail of success, or will be forced to such changes of the original, that the identity of the latter is entirely lost. Aeschylus, the predecessor and guide of Sophocles in the exploiting of the Homeric and Cyclic poems for dramatic materials,¹ stood much nearer in time and in spirit to the dithyrambic origin of the Greek drama, and, hence, in his dramas the religious elements were more prominent. The characters in his tragedies are, as a general thing, not individuals, but simply representatives of man in general,

¹ Welcker, p. 1.

who in human pride and passion have offended against the immutable laws of the gods and fate. They possess but little individuality and no complexity of character.¹ The plots too were used only to preach the great sermons of reverence for the gods and religion, and, as long as Aeschylus preserved their religious character, he felt himself free to treat the stories of his sources with perfect poetic license.² When Sophocles, 'the tragic Homer,' began working the rich mine of the old epics, he found them practically untouched; Aeschylus had worked only the surface veins. Sophocles humanized the old stories and the heroes, he molded them into dramatic forms and characters 'more suited to the new times—the wider horizon and the new standpoint for viewing and judging man.'³ He gave to the plots and characters greater depth and greater complexity. 'His fame rests upon his great dramatic technique and psychological poetic inventiveness.'⁴

The treasures had been exhausted when Euripides entered upon his literary career; he soon abandoned the epic poems and turned in all directions for new materials, to unexploited Greek myths, to those of Italy and even invented some new plots of his own.⁵ So great were these changes, so little reverence had he for the sacred character of the old myths and traditions, that his tragedies are generally considered to mark the decline of the Greek drama and to have dealt both poetry and art a serious blow. He seems to have appreciated, (as it would be well for the modern Nibelungen dramatist to do also), that there was no chance for great poetic productions where the field was so limited, and no longer offered fresh materials to work with. He was a great poet, and his tragedies are great poetical creations, but they are not 'Homeric' in any sense of the term; nor does one of them embody any older epic, or any part of it, in a 'higher form.' It is evident that he felt and tried to avoid the same limitations to poetic

¹ Günther, pp. 85, 86.

² Welcker, p. 91.

³ Welcker, p. 92.

⁴ Cf. *sup.*, 3; cf. Freytag, p. 123 f., p. 144; Günther, p. 58.

⁵ Cf. Welcker, II, pp. 459, 460.

treatment of dramatic materials taken from familiar epic sources as the modern poet does in the treatment of similarly derived materials.¹ He too was forced to make great changes and resort to new inventions as our poets are, but he was more fortunate, for his public finally lost, as he had himself, the respect and reverence for the old poems and myths, while in the modern public the reverence for the dignity and sacredness of the old poetic possessions is growing steadily stronger. We demand a closer following of the original, and thus bar the way to irreverent plundering, and practically prevent the possibility of remodeling, into another higher or similar form, a subject which has already received an artistic form from an earlier poet whose work we have learned to love.

This leads, finally, to the consideration of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage* in modern epic poetry; a discussion not introduced before in order to avoid confusion, and because many of the considerations urged in regard to Nibelungen dramatizations apply with the same cogency, if not with greater, to the attempt to reconstruct from one epic poem, or cycle of epic poems—which, defective though it be, has yet gained a hold upon the hearts and imagination of the people—another with the same materials. Only two² such epic reproductions deserve any consideration, *Die Nibelunge* of Jordan, and *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung* by William Morris. The former consisting of two parts, *die Sigfridsage* and *Hildebrand's Heimkehr*, is an attempt to utilize in one long continuous epic all the versions of the *Nibelungensage*, together with the old

¹ Butcher, p. 332; Freytag, p. 135; Günther, pp. 192, 197, 215, 232.

² It was impossible to secure for this discussion the other epics, viz.:

G. Pfarrius, *Chriemhildens Rache, ein erzählendes Gedicht*.

W. Wegener, *Siegfried und Chriemhild: Eine poetische Gestaltung der Nibelungensage*, 1867.

Werner Hahn, *Kriemhilde: Ein Volksgesang der Deutschen*. Yet, from the fact that they receive such scanty mention, wherever they are mentioned, and that no mention of them at all can be found in the standard histories of German literature, it does not seem wrong to conclude that they hardly deserve consideration in this discussion.

Hildebrandsage, and to fill out with characters and incidents drawn from every possible corner of Germanic *Sages* in general. It is written in rhymeless alliterative verse, more complex, varied and pliable than the old German verse-types, and displays great skill and talent of versification on the part of the author. Jordan had traveled all through Germany, Austria, and in parts of America, giving public recitals and improvisations and, profiting by the experience and criticism thus gained, produced a poem which is surely popular, both in contents and form. It contains many passages of real poetic power and beauty, others of noticeable sweetness and delicacy, and reveals throughout great facility and a certain art of composition. But, in spite of these good features, it proves conclusively the truth of the conclusions reached above, it betrays on every page the futility of the poet's attempt to 'restore' and reconstruct the old *Nibelungenlied* in complete and comprehensive form. Where Jordan follows the *Sage*, he is weak and flippant, belittles the *Sage* and robs it of its grand simplicity. He transforms all its rugged heroic characters into the colorless, sentimental or intriguing characters of a poor modern novel, though he tries to incorporate and symbolize in them great ethical and moral principles. He destroys the chief charm of every feature, its unconscious naturalness. The 'modern' features which he introduces in his desire to humanize and infuse 'modern culture' into the old myths are absurd, and even worse.¹ Countless minor im-

¹An extreme criticism of Jordan's work is to be found in v. Muth's *Einleitung in das Nibelungenlied*, which, with all its humorously extravagant zeal, does strike right at the greatest weaknesses of that production. He says (p. 416): W. Jordans *Nibelunge* sind ein widerliches Product formgewandten Raffinements; bedenkt man dass dieses Werk, 33000 Langzeilen lang d. h. 4 mal so lang als *der Nibelunge Not*, um die Hälfte länger als *der Parsival* oder so lang wie ein Dutzend fünfactiger Trauerspiele, in einer Sprache und Form, die nie gesprochen und nie gebraucht wurde, ritterliche Vorstellungen des xiv. und Rohheit des iv. Jahrhunderts, olympisches Göttergeplauder und mittelalterliches Hexenwesen zu einem unerträglichen Gemisch zusammen würfelt, so wird der affectierte Beifall, den es vielfach

perfections on almost every page emphasize continually the vast difference between a really great poem and an ingenious poetical composition. And as all such attempts must result, Jordan has produced what Gottschall¹ characterizes as: *eine Monstredichtung, welche aus den erratischen Blöcken der Vorzeit ihre gigantischen—and it might be added, und grotesken—Gestalten und Gedanken meisselt*. Jordan in his *Epilog* speaks of himself as the bard who

Erneuert das Lied von den Nibelungen
Und in Sigfridsage und Hildebrands Heimkehr
Die heilige Halle des Heldenthums
Aus verwitterten Resten wieder gewölbt hat
Zum zeitendurchdauernden doppelten Dom.

The poem reminds the reader rather of one of those churches such as are to be found in Rome, for the construction of which the old temples have been robbed of their beautiful carved marbles and stately pillars. We may admire the ingenuity and skill of the architect in utilizing his plundered materials, but what there is of real beauty is the work of the ancient artists and builders. The spectator cannot help but regret that the grand old ruins have been despoiled to adorn the modern structure of pieces and of patches.

gefunden, halb unbegreiflich; dass sein Autor Prätension erhebt, den Gedanken und die Form verlorener Dichtung wiederzugeben, ist lächerlich; dass der alte Hildebrand visionär von Locomotiven, Blitzableitern und Telegraphen träumt, ist abgeschmackt; dass aber die Recken der Vorzeit als moderne „Culturkämpfer“ dargestellt werden und Hildebrand der Stammvater des Zollernhauses sein soll, ist nicht Patriotismus, auch nicht Chauvinismus oder Wohldienerei, sondern das ist, . . . die ganze elende und gemeine Marktschreierei, die sich nicht entblödet Dinge und Motive, die zu ernst sind für solche Entwürdigung, für den immer gähnenden Geldsack auszuheben, und die darum einmal nach Gebühr gebrandmarkt werden soll (cf. also Burckhard, *Allgem. Zeitung*, Beilage, Nos. 227 and 228, Sept. 29, 30, 1891).

For a different, laudatory criticism, cf. Röpe, p. 106. In view of such criticism as Röpe's, Jordan would have good reason to pray to be delivered from his friends.

¹*Deut. Nat'litt. d. 19^{ten} Jhls.*, Vol. 3, p. 446.

Entirely different is *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung* by William Morris, which has been called, rather extravagantly, 'the greatest epic of the Nineteenth century.' Its structure may not be as artistic as that of Jordan's poem; the verse is less flexible and light, in fact rather heavy and monotonous for the best effects in varying situations; the alliteration, which Morris employs to some extent, is not nearly as artistically and effectively handled, but, as an organic whole, the poem stands far above the rhapsodizings of the German poet, in tone, in poetical power and in epic dignity. Nowhere does it descend to the triviality, the obscure disturbing mysticism and symbolism, the political and philosophic tendency of Jordan's *Nibelunge*. Nor is it, like the latter, a conglomerate pile of epical materials appropriated from every source, though cleverly arranged in a massive, showy whole, but it is a noble, though less ambitious and ornate, structure, built on a simple plan, with its blocks quarried and shaped from the *Volsungensage*, stately and impressive in its dignified simplicity. The English poet found his materials in the crude Norse *Saga*, roughly hewn, it is true, but not spoiled for his purpose and full of artistic potentiality. His artistic genius was almost unrestricted, he could practically hew and carve as he pleased, and give free rein to his creative phantasy. His materials in the rough were given him, the general plan of structure was prescribed, but with that material, and within that plan he was free to arrange and vary with entire artistic license. The variations from the original are comparatively few, chiefly of omission and condensation, though here and there the outlines and connecting lines were more clearly and sharply brought out.

The first three books is occupied with the story of Brunhild and Siegfried, the fourth contains the story of the Fall of the Niblungs, which follows the more poetical and modern version of the *Nibelungenlied*. Chriemhild urges Atli on to the destruction of the Burgundians, but takes no active part herself, though, like a Goddess of vengeance, she looms up and

hovers over it all. Her own end follows the narrative of the Norse *Saga*; after slaying Atli and setting fire to the palace, she throws herself into the sea. This whole fourth book seems to confirm the point made in the early part of the paper, that whether in drama or epic, when Brunhild is made the central figure, Chriemhild is necessarily forced into the background and becomes a secondary figure. Morris does not lose the sense of proportion in the least, yet the reader feels that with Brunhild's death the story has reached its artistic end. *The Fall of the Niblungs* begins a new cycle, satisfies the curiosity of the reader, perhaps his sense of poetic justice, but, on the whole, seems an inorganic, inartistic supplement to the Brunhild tragedy. *The Story of Sigurd* is open to criticism in other respects, it often palls upon the reader, is prolix and repetitious, it often shows that the poet is nodding. It is also too sombre and continuously gloomy; it is pervaded with the Nineteenth century *Weltschmerz*, for the poet has failed to catch the sunny brightness of the Siegfried story, and also that death-defying joyousness which marked the northern heroes in the midst of the most tragic situations, and which we feel all through the second part of the *Nibelungenlied* as being the great reconciling feature to Hagen's character. The characters and the localities seem vague and misty, and, as the reader lays aside the book, there comes over him a feeling, that it all was not real. In other words, the poet has not been able to strip off his Nineteenth century culture and catch the simple epic spirit of the original. Yet, as a work of pure poetic creation, it stands above all others based upon either the *Sage* or the *Lied*. And, no doubt, much of its success is due to the fact that the poet took for his plot the crude, simple prose tale of the *Volsungensage*, which gave his creative imagination full scope for the exercise of its powers. But it is no 'higher form' of the *Sage* than the *Nibelungenlied*, it will never take the latter's place; it will hardly be read to supplement the latter's faulty and unclear version of the Brunhild episode.

It will ever remain, what it pretends to be, an earnest, dignified poetic version of the *Volsungensage*, and no more.

It would be unsatisfactory to leave this subject without some notice of the modern re-creations of the old Arthurian cycle, of which only Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* can claim attention in this connection. The analogies between these and the modern reproductions of the *Nibelungensage* are numerous, and will be clear to anyone who will consider the two at all carefully. This subject of the modern re-creation of the Arthurian cycle by Tennyson, touched upon by many, but by none exhaustively discussed, requires a far fuller and more intelligent treatment than this paper can hope to give; it can hope to present only a few points for consideration, which, however, will tend to corroborate the position it is trying to maintain.

In the first place, it seems an utter impossibility at the present time to pass any final judgment upon the value and beauty of the *Idylls*, either as works of poetry, or as re-creations of the *Morte Darthur*, while the critics utter such utterly contradictory opinions concerning them. The one¹ says: 'In music of rhythm, in beauty of diction, in richness of illustration, they are unsurpassed;' while it is the opinion of Swinburne that 'there is little in them beyond dexterity, a rare eloquence, a laborious patience of hand;' and he would 'deny them, not only epical merit, but any transcendent merit at all.' According to one critic:² 'The *Idylls* are a poem almost perfect in unity of design and proportion of parts;' while another³ asserts that 'Tennyson has effected this divergence (of a certain romance from Malory's version) at the sacrifice of unity, consistency and beauty.' Maccallum⁴ says of Tennyson's alterations of the original: 'His alterations are not distortions; they

¹ Van Dyke, *The Poetry of Tennyson* (3rd. Ed.), New York, 1892, p. 162.

² Littledale, *Essays on Lord Tennyson's Idylls of the King*, London, and New York, 1893, p. 11.

³ Gurteen, *The Arthurian Epic*, New York, 1895, p. 307.

⁴ Tennyson's *Idylls and Arthurian Story*, New York, 1894, p. 316.

never strike one as impertinent, they are in the right line of development;’ while Stopford Brooke,¹ in criticizing the episode of Tristram and Isolt, remarks: ‘Tennyson ought to have had more reverence for a great tale. . . . No one has a right to alter out of recognition two characters in one of the great poetic stories of the world and to blacken them. . . . To make a great tale in this fashion the stalking horse of morality, . . . to degrade characters which are not degraded is an *iniquity* in art.’ Finally Maccallum sums up his opinion of the *Idylls* in these words:² ‘It might even be said that they deliver the classic version of that story as a whole, and present it *in the highest perfection of which it is capable*;’ while Gurteen concludes³ (almost in the very words of Weibrecht in regard to the *Nibelungen* re-creations): ‘Even Tennyson failed to produce an epic of chivalry, and the theme awaits the fashioning touch of some future poet.’ But, whatever be our opinion of the *Idylls* as poetry and works of art, we must remember distinctly that they never pretended to be an *epic*, a re-creation in ‘the higher form of epic poetry’ of the prose epic of Malory. In his choice of the name, *Idylls*, Tennyson publicly and emphatically disavows any such desire on his part. His zealous, but injudicious, admirers do him a wrong in calling them by such an ambitious name. They may call them ‘Tennysonean,’ or ‘idyllic epics,’ ‘epics in miniature,’ what they will, but they are not ‘epics’ (or an ‘epic’) as the word has been established in meaning. Whether Tennyson himself recognized that ‘his peculiar genius was not suited to the production of an epic,’ as Maccallum⁴ says, or that, as Lang claims,⁵ ‘a new epic is an impossibility,’ because ‘the age has not the epic spirit;’ or, that the poet realized the fact that, in spite of all its shortcomings, *Le Morte Darthur* could never be successfully recast into a higher epic form, it is enough to

¹ Stopford Brooke, *Tennyson*, New York, 1894, pp. 346, 347.

² Cf. p. 2.

³ Cf. p. 88.

⁴ Cf. p. 308.

⁵ Introduction to Sommer’s edition of *Morte Darthur*, London, 1891, III, XXII.

know, that 'he had contemplated an Arthurian epic and had abandoned it after severe labor as impracticable.' The *Idylls*, therefore, cannot and ought not be judged by the same standards as the Nibelungen dramas and epics, for they make no pretense to belonging to the same class.

But granting that the *Idylls* are successful poetic re-creations of the *Arthurian* story, still they prove nothing in regard to the possibility of producing similar results from recasting the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage*; the antecedent and attendant conditions are so entirely different in the two cases. Considered merely as a source for poetic materials, Malory's *Morte Darthur* is in a far cruder condition than the *Nibelungenlied*. It is prose, in unpolished form, prolix, self-contradictory in parts, and confused in arrangement.¹ Even Sommer² warns against 'rating him (Malory) too highly. To put it mildly his work is very unequal.' Tennyson was more fortunate, then, than are his fellow poets in their *Nibelungen* reproductions, in regard to his sources at least. But not only in that respect, he also had the field practically clear before him. For, although there had been others who had gone to the same sources for materials, as Maccallum shows in his history of the story, yet their work had hardly made any impression upon the world and was practically forgotten when Tennyson first commenced writing. How different from the state of things in the field of German literature! And, in a third respect, Tennyson was more favorably placed. For, it is probably true, notwithstanding Andrew Lang to the contrary, that 'among ordinary readers Tennyson's *Idylls* are a great deal more read than Malory's romance,'³ and that the popular interest in Malory is probably due to the *Idylls* rather than that the reverse is the case, as is true of the *Nibelungen* re-creations, which owe whatever interest they arouse chiefly to the source from which they are drawn.

¹ Cf. Maccallum, pp. 93, 94.

² *The Sources of La Morte Darthur* (London, 1891, III, 294).

³ Maccallum, p. 289.

Finally we must bear in mind, as has already been touched upon before,¹ that the one general objection which the adverse critics, Swinburne, Lang, Rhys, Brooke, Gurteen, make to the *Idylls*, is that the poet has failed to reproduce the spirit of the old *Arthur* story, and that our enjoyment of them is always marred by the conflict between the modern version and our recollection of the old story; that the infusion of modern ideas and allegorical meanings robs the old romances of their chief charm, their natural simplicity and naïve directness; that 'cold intellect has taken the place of creative emotion.'² The beauties, on the other hand, lie in the setting and background which Tennyson constructs for his story, the creation and refashioning of certain characters where the original story allowed him free range to invent most freely,³ besides in the music of the verse and 'the exquisite magnificence of style,'—all minor poetic qualities. If, then, the greatest English poet of the Nineteenth century, whom Van Dyke places next to Shakspeare and Milton, fails in these crucial points of the poetic re-creation of a previous well-known story, what are the chances of success with such a peculiarly difficult and unpliant subject-matter as we have seen the Nibelungen story to be?

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from this discussion? Shall we agree with Weitbrecht and Schmidt and the others, and say to the poets: "Keep on with your attempts, keep working away at the *Nibelungensage*, read and profit by the theoretical discussions of the question, and, finally, by your combined efforts you will have prepared the poetical materials in the *Lied* and *Sage* for some poetic genius of the future to mold and shape in lasting, definitive form, and who will create a Nibelungen drama or poem which will be the perfected product and crown of Nibelungen poetry!" No. The only sensible advice to the poet can be: "Let the subject rest, if you care for success, and have any feelings of reverence and

¹ Cf. above, p. 235, note 2.² Brooke, p. 266 ff.³ Brooke, p. 331.

respect for the great poetical treasures of the past, which ought to be sacred to every true poet. Do not add another to the many previous, irreverential and unsuccessful attempts. Recognize the fact, that the poetical treasure of the *Nibelungenlied*, like the Nibelungen gold, seems loaded with a curse which falls upon everyone who would take it from its element and wrest it from its original possessor."

It must be acknowledged, that no really great poet has ever attempted the re-creation of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage*; but a really great poet would probably never be tempted and, in this way, prove his greatness. It must also be conceded, that the considerations urged by this paper and the conclusions reached may all be wrong. It would be the height of presumption to be less modest than the great Lessing, who says (*Laokoon*, Chap. iv): "How many a conclusion would seem irrefutable in theory if genius had not succeeded in proving the very opposite by an actual fact." And Michael Angelo took the half-hewn block of marble lying for years in the courtyard of the Old Palace at Florence, and carved from it one of the great and famous statues of the world, the *David* of the Academy at Florence. A bungling artist had seemingly ruined the unusually beautiful block; Donatello, Sansovino, and even Leonardo da Vinci had refused to attempt to make use of it, and yet it stands to-day an overwhelming witness to the all-conquering power of genius. And thus a genius, like Shakspeare, might perform the seemingly impossible task and produce the 'reconstructed higher form' of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage*. Very true; but to this there is but one consideration to urge. Though the world in the many centuries of its history has produced many artists and many poets of great genius, yet as amongst them all there was but one Michael Angelo, so there was but one Shakspeare. How likely is it that we shall see another?

APPENDIX.

WORKS IN MODERN POETRY BASED UPON THE
LIED AND SAGE.

(Cf. Piper, Kürschner's *Deut. Nat. Lit.*, Bd. 6, Abt. II, Stuttgart, 1889, p. 184 f.; also v. Muth, *Einleitung in das Nibelungenlied*, Paderborn, 1877, p. 416 f.; also *Za. für den deutschen Unterricht*, 1894, p. 379 f.; *Zur neuesten Nibelungenliteratur* von Karl Landmann.)

A. Forerunners.

1. Hans Sachs, *Der kuernen Seufried*, 1557.
2. Fr. de la Motte-Fouqué, *Sigurd der Held der Nordens*.
(a). *Sigurd der Schlangentöchter*, Berlin, 1808.
(b). *Sigurds Rache*, Berlin, 1810.

B. Dramas based upon the entire *Sage* or *Lied*.

3. Ludwig Uhland, *Die Nibelungen*, 2 Teile. Ein Entwurf von 1817 (Em. Uhland: *L. Uhland, eine Gabe für seine Freunde*, 1863; A. v. Keller, *Uhland als Dramatiker*, 1877).
4. Fr. R. Hermann, *Die Nibelungen in 3 Teilen*.
(a) *Der Nibelungen Hort*, (b) *Siegfried*, (c) *Kriemhilds Rache*, Leipzig, 1819.
5. Chr. Fr. Eichhorn, *Kriemhildens Rache*, Göttingen, 1824.
6. E. Raupach, *Der Nibelungen Hort*, Hamburg, 1834.
7. Chr. Wurm, (a) *Die Nibelungen*, (b) *Siegfrieds Tod*, 1839.
8. Reinold Reimar (Adolf Glaser), *Kriemhildens Rache*, Hamburg, 1853.
9. Fr. Hebbel, *Die Nibelungen*, 3 Teile, Hamburg, 1862.
(a) *Der gehörnte Siegfried*, (b) *Siegfrieds Tod* (cf. *Kriemhilds Rache*).
10. L. Ettmüller, *Sigfrid*, 1870.
11. Adolf Wilbrandt, *Kriemhild*, Wien, 1877.
12. Wilhelm Fischer, *Siegfried: Trauerspiel*, Reudnitz-Leipzig (no date).
13. Georg Siegert, (a) *Siegfrieds Tod*, 1887, (b) *Kriemhilds Rache*, 1888.

C. Brunhild Dramas.

14. Ferd. Wachter, *Brunhild*, Jena, 1821.
15. J. A. Chr. Zarnack, *Siegfrieds Tod*, Potsdam, 1826.
16. E. Geibel, *Brunhild*, Stuttgart, 1857.
17. Robt. Waldmüller (Ed. Duboc), *Brunhild* (Dresden, 1863), Leipzig, 1874.
18. Reinh. Sigismund, *Brynhilde*, Rudolstadt, 1878.
19. Irmin v. Veihel-Müller, *Die Nibelungen*, Ein Dramen Cyclus.
Erster Teil: *Brünhild*, Pfungstadt, 1880.

D. Kriemhild Dramas.

20. Joh Wilh. Müller, *Chriemhilds Rache*, Trauerspiel mit dem Chor.
(a) *Der Schwur*, (b) *Rüdiger*, (c) *Chriemhild's Ende*, Heidelberg, 1822.
21. Aug. Kopisch, *Chrimhild*, 1830. Gesammelte werke, Bd. 4, Berlin, 1856.
22. Wm. Hosaeus, *Kriemhild*, Paderborn, 1866.
23. A. L. H. v. Liebhaber, *Kriemhild* (only in ms., see Goedeke, I³, p. 908).
24. Fried. Arnd, *Kriemhild*, Leipzig, 1875.
25. Reinh. Sigismund, *Chriemhilde*, Rudolstadt, 1875.

E. Rüdiger Dramas.

26. Wilh. Osterwald, *Rüdiger von Bechlarén*, 1849.
27. A. L. Schenk, *Markgraf Rüdiger*, 1860.
28. Fel. Dahn, *Markgraf Rüdiger von Bechlarén*, 1875.

F. Attila Dramas (cf. Piper).*

29. Jos. Nep. v. Kalchberg, *Attila*, 1806.
30. F. L. Zach. Werner, *Attila, König der Hunnen*, Berlin, 1812.
31. Herm. Rustige, *Attila*, 1853.

G. Operas.

32. Fr. Theod. Vischer, *Vorschlag zu einer Oper.*, 5 Akte, 1844.
33. E. Gerber, *Die Nibelungen*, Musik von H. L. E. Dorn, 1854.
34. Richard Wagner, *Der Ring der Nibelungen*, 1876, entire.
(a) *Das Rheingold*, (b) *Die Walküre*, (c) *Siegfried*, (d) *Die Götterdämmerung*.
35. Georg Fuchs, *Das Nibelungenlied, Festspiel* (Musik von Karl Pottgiesser, Aufgeführt zu Dortmund, 1893).

H. Epic poems.

36. G. Pfarrius, *Chriemhildens Rache* (Date?), *Ein erzählendes Gedicht*.
37. Wilh. Jordan, *Die Nibelunge*, Frankfurt a/M.
(a) *Sigfridsage*, 1869; (b) *Hilderbrand's Heimkehr*, 1875.
38. W. Wegener, *Siegfried und Chriemhilde, Eine poetische Gestaltung der Nibelungensage*, Brandenburg, 1867.
39. Werner Hahn, *Kriemhild* (Date?), *Ein Volksgesang der Deutschen*.

I. Works in Foreign Languages.

40. Henrik Ibsen, *Härmændene paa Helgeland*, Christiania, 1858.
41. Karl Gjellerup, *Brymild* (Drama in Danish), 1890.
42. Wm. Morris, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*, London, 1876.

GUSTAV GRUENER.

*It was impossible to verify these, except the work of Werner, which is based upon the historical account of Attila's last year of life and not upon the *Nibelungensage*.

IX.—HISTORIE VON EINEM RITTER, WIE ER BUESSET.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

In the summer of 1895 I had occasion to examine a number of German mss. in the library at Maihingen, belonging to Prince Karl of Oettingen-Wallerstein.

Maihingen is a small village, of about seven hundred inhabitants, not far from the city of Noerdlingen, in the Bavarian district of Schwaben-Neuburg.

The collection of mss. in Maihingen, numbering about 1500, is divided into five groups: the Oriental, the Greek, the Latin, the German, and those of the Foreign Modern Languages (French, Dutch, etc.). The oldest codex among the mss. dates back to the sixth century. It is a New Testament in Anglo-Saxon script. Wattenbach has given an account of this ms. in *Anzeiger des German. Museums*, October, 1869.

The importance of the Maihinger *Nibelungen* ms. (codex Maihingensis) has been pointed out by Prof. Zarncke. A fragment of Notker's *Psalms* which is found in Maihingen has been published by Hattemer. Other material has been brought before the public by R. von Liliencron, Meyer, Quen, and Bartsch.

In the year 1862 Prof. Karl Bartsch visited his friend, the former librarian of Maihingen, Baron von Loeffelholz, and through him became acquainted with a number of mss. in this library. In *Pfeiffer's Germania*, VIII, 48 f., Prof. Bartsch described a number of German and French mss. seen by him. The present librarian, Dr. Grupp, called my attention to the fact that since the year 1862 the library has been rearranged. The mss. at that time were not yet catalogued. It was undoubtedly this circumstance which prevented Bartsch from seeing the mss. of which I have given an account elsewhere.

Most of the mss. examined by me, twenty-eight in number, belong to the fifteenth century, a few to the thirteenth and fourteenth, and some to the seventeenth. Among the mss. which I have copied is the story of the knight in the chapel. I found the story in a small volume of octavo size, bound in wood with leather cover, catalogued as III. Deutsch 1, 8°, 14; leaves 79^a–95^b. The story is written in rimed couplets. The lines are not set off, but only indicated by quotation marks. The volume that contains our story has no title page, but the first leaf has an index which I repeat here :

Item ein hwbsche histori von siben Messen (l. 2^a–10^b).

Item von den Sieben Hawptkirchen zw rome der Applas und wo die Heiling liegen (l. 11^a–33^a).

Item der Applas im Newen Spital (l. 33^b–41^b).

Item der Applas zu dem wirdigen Heiltum (l. 42^a–54^b).

Item der Applas zu Sant Jacob (l. 54^b–64^b).

Item der Passion am Karfreitag (l. 65^a–78^b).

With this the index closes; no mention being made of the knight's story. But on the last page, l. 95^b, a title is given: Das ist ein hwbsche histori von einem riter bie er pwsset.

All the mss. in this small volume are written by the same hand. The subject-matter does not concern our story. The dialect is Bavarian. Whether it was written in Nueremberg or not it is difficult to determine. The former librarian of Maihingen, Dr. von Loeffelholz, frequently made notes on the margin of a number of mss., while cataloguing them. In the case of several pieces, preceding the knight's story, I found "Nürnberg!" written several times at the head. Von Loeffelholz was no doubt led to make these notes by the names of several well-known churches in Nueremberg (St. Sebald, St. Jacob). This circumstance gives some color to the belief that this ms. was written in Nueremberg.

In the *Bibliothek des literar. Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1853, Vol. xxx, A. von Keller, the editor, mentions a Munich ms. which seems to contain the same story, not yet printed. I have had no access to this ms., but my conjecture that it must

be identical with that of the Maihinger MS., finds sufficient basis in the lines quoted on page 1377 :

Der ritter in der Capellen.
Ein ritter zu einen zeyten was
Der hoch of einer pürg sas.

On page 1534 of the same volume the closing lines are quoted :

Und darczw die werde mayt
Dis ain gruntveszt ist aller Christenhayt.

From this we may conclude that there can be little doubt as to the identity of these stories.

The Munich MS. is catalogued as cgm. 714 in 4. It is a Paper MS. of 490 leaves, the story of the knight comprising only ten leaves (l. 127-137). The stories contained in this Munich MS. are *Fastnachtspiele*, *Sprueche* and *Gedichte*, most of which were written by Hans Rosenblut of Nueremberg, with the surname Schnepperer or Schwaetzer, who was a Wappendichter in the first half of the fifteenth century. Most of his life was spent in Nueremberg. At first one might be tempted to attribute the story of the knight to him, but for a number of reasons Rosenblut's authorship must in this case be denied. Schmeller has contended that there is no reason to attribute all these stories to Rosenblut. Cf. *Bayr. Wb.*, IV, 24.

I believe that Rosenblut would not have failed to sign his name, as he was in the habit of doing so. He was anxious to become known as Schnepperer, a name which he considered more of an honor than a reproach. The word is still used in the Nueremberg dialect, and it does not always signify a nickname.

It is true the rimes are not elegant. They are sometimes impure. In an article in *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, VIII, 508, W. Wackernagel speaks especially of the "wilden Versbau" of Rosenblut. It has been said by A. von Keller, *Biblioth.*

des lit. V., Vol. xxx, 1081, that one of the criteria of the authorship of Rosenblut is the circumstance, that we frequently find in his poems the closing rime "uot or üet." Another criterion is said to be the frequency of preambles. The story in question has nothing in common with Rosenblut, at least nothing of importance. A large number of poems, written in the fifteenth century and not signed, have been attributed to him, but unjustly. They might have been attributed to the other authors of Fastnachtspiele just as well, for example, to Folz der Balwierer, Schernberg or Gengenbach.

In a poem, entitled *Memorial der Tugend, ein löblicher spruch von der reichsstadt Nürnberg, 1447*, the author calls himself Prediger ordens Hans Rosenblut. The fact that Hans Rosenblut belonged to a clerical order has never been sufficiently dwelt upon. On this very account many poems that pass under his name cannot possibly be attributed to him. So it seems impossible to see in Rosenblut the author of our story. An ecclesiastic of the time long before the Reformation would hardly have dared to ridicule the institution of confession. A clerical poet would not have allowed the knight to chaffer the confessor down to a penalty of only one night. In this feature—selling pardon of sins at any rate—and thus satirizing priesthood, church and church law—our story differs from all those dealing with a similar subject.

Being compelled to limit myself to a prescribed time,¹ I cannot enter upon an elaborate discussion of the authorship of this story; a number of important points can only be hinted at. The author of our story was probably a gleeman, who found special delight in the description of knightly life in war and peace, or rather in describing knights who commit wicked deeds and make confession of them. The absence of all learned allusion, together with the rimes, argues for a popular poet who lived at a time when the age of chivalry had entered upon a stage of decay, perhaps the time of Duke Frederik of

¹The paper was read before the Mod. Lang. Association of America, December 29, 1895.

Austria (1236–1245). Perhaps the sad events of that time led a popular poet to this fiction, dealing with the moral problem of obtaining forgiveness of sins. The poem seems to point back to the thirteenth century; accordingly our ms. would be a copy by a Bavarian scribe.


After making comparisons, I find that the story has the stamp of the smaller poems, Schwänke, and stories of the Austrian poet "der Stricker," an assumed name perhaps for a wandering minstrel.

Little is known of the life of this poet. Karl Bartsch, in his edition of *Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker*, 1857, has located the home of Stricker in Austria. With him agree Jacob Grimm, von der Hagen, Pfeiffer and others. It is only of late that G. Rosenhagen, in a dissertation, *Untersuchungen über Daniel vom blühenden Thal von Stricker*, 1890, made the attempt to locate the home of Stricker in the Eastern part of Franconia, but on unsatisfactory evidence, as it seems to me.

According to Prof. Bartsch, der Stricker, a contemporary of Rudolf von Ems, is the founder of the shorter moral narrative, didactic poem and preamble. Many stories, found in collections of narratives, may be attributed to Stricker, those at least that deal with a moral problem. To most of his smaller stories Stricker has not signed his name. He usually avoids proper names in smaller poems that contain didactic and humorous elements. All this is characteristic of our story.

The answers of the knight to the confessor remind us of the Pfaffe Amis who is examined by the Probst (see Wackernagel, *Altdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 794).

On the whole the rimes are pure, especially in the matter of the vowels. In some places one or two verses are omitted and the rime-correspondence is accordingly destroyed. In regard to consonants only a few inaccuracies are noticeable. That the original was copied by a Bavarian, and probably by a Nueremberg copyist will not surprise us, if we remember that Nueremberg and other Bavarian cities always had some connection with the Austrian and Bohemian Kanzlei (see



K. Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, Halle, 1893, p. 8 f.).

The story of the knight at a first glance reminds us of some features of the legends, *Robert the devil*, *Sir Gowther*, and of *Graf Richard von der Normandie*, a poem by Uhland (see *Sir Gowther*, von Karl Breul, Oppeln, 1886). According to Breul's investigations our story would deserve a place as a member of the same family of legends. Two poems of a similar character with that of the knight I have found in *Lassberg's Liedersaal*, Vol. III, 71 f. and 248 f. The first, entitled *Der Ritter und Maria*, recounts how a certain knight, having spent all his property, places himself in the hands of Satan, in order to receive from him what his heart desires, but after a time regret seizes him and he becomes repentant. In a chapel, where he meets Satan, he receives, by the help of Mary, the holy virgin, forgiveness of his sins, and conquers Satan. In the second poem, *Der Ritter und der Teufel*, Satan is likewise deceived by a repentant knight, who goes to a chapel and spends a night in prayer and contemplation, but not without having had his faith put to trial. All these stories deal with the moral problem of forgiveness of sins. The poetic embodiment of the priest and the knight is evidently the offspring of that opinion so prevalent in the Middle Ages, and which time has mellowed into a popular adage, that "the greater the sinner, the greater the saint." Whether repentance and atonement can effect grace and salvation was a prominent question in those days; according to Du Meril it is the fundamental idea of the Robert legend and of all those stories that deal with the problem of how to obtain forgiveness of sins.

Ein Ritter zu einem waz
 der hoch auff einer purg sacz
 Er het veintschaftt und gar vil
 furbar ich daz sprechen wil
 Er het kinder vnd ein frawen
 Er het ein sbester der dorst er wol getrawen

Die kint jn wol rat geben
wie er sich hielt in allen seinem leben
Er det geren nach jrem rat
pede fru vnd ouch spat
Doch war er gar ein buster man
Gegen got er selden rew geban
Vmb rawben oder vmb prennen
Vmb kirchen prechen oder vmb rennen
Er beswert sein arm lewt vil
Daz stundt recht auf daz zil
Daz got sein genad mit jm det
Daz er vil selden gedacht het
Dez bas pei im nahent gesessen
Ein heiliger vater so vermessen
In einem busten walde
Zu dem gingen die Lewd palde
Vnd erlagten sie jr schuld gar
Des ritters gesind ging auch dar
Vnd begunden jm alle peichten
Vnd ir sel von den sunden lewchten
Do daz Gesind haim kom
Sein hawsgesind er do her nom
Das solt ir mich wissen lon
Das gesind sprach bir haben gepeicht
Vnd vnser sel von sunden geleucht
Das thun bir alles vmb den lon
Daz vns got sol genad thon
Do gedacht der riter an sich
Ach bie ein grosser sunder pin ich
Ach wie selden hab ich gepeicht
Vnd mein sel von sunden geleucht
Sunst er vil rew geban
Er gedacht ich wil auch zu dem Vater gan
Der furt ein heiliges leben
Das ich mein sundt gepust
Waz ich halt darumb leiden muz

Der ritter hub sich auff die vart
Zu dem heiligen vater zart
Er sprach lieber vater mein
Laz dir mein sunt geclagt sein
Der ist so vil vnd genung
Ich vil manchen Vnfug
Begangen hab all mein tagen
Das ich dir es nit kan gesagen
Ich hab kirchen geprochen
Vnd hab mich an meinem veinten gerochen
Mit rawben vnd mit prennen
Daz ich es nit alles kann genennen
Ich nom armen lewten daz ir
Daz dick lutzelt frumet mir
Das du mir vergebst mein schuld
Vnd mich setzest in Gottes huld
Vnd gieb pus daruber mir
Die ich geleiden mag von dir
Der heilig vater sprach sun mein
Vnd wild du mir gefollig sein
Ich gieb dir pus fur dein schuld
Vnd setz dich in gottes huld
Ich will dir sagen furbar
Du solt pussen sieben jar
Der riter sprach sieben jar
Mag ich nit pussen tzbar
Ein kurze frist hort ich geren
Da mit ich mocht zu got keren
Der heilig vater sprach das sei
So pus gantzer jar drei
Der riter sprach ach ich thu sein nicht
Was mir halt darumb geschiht
Ich pust geren ein kurtze zeit
Das wolt ich thun an biderstreit
Der vater sprach so pus ein jar
Das gerewt dich nymer vmb ein har

Der riter sprach sein ist zu vil
Ein jar ich nicht puessen will
Sag mir an dem jar sturb ich
Wer pust dan die sund fur mich
Der heilig vater sprach so schon
Magstu pussen zwei monet
Der riter sprach ich enmag
Gieb mir puss auff einem tag
Der heilig vater sprach
In dreien monat las dir gach
Und pus darin die sundt dein
So wird dir got genedig sein
Der riter sprach du solt mir sussen
Ich mag nit drei monet pussen
Der heilig vater aber sprach
Ist dir zu der pus gach
So pus nur drei bochen
So wirt alle dein sund gerochen
Der riter sprach ich mag nit peiten
Ich pust geren ein kurtze zeit
Der heilig vater sprach in zu
So pus gantzer bochen zwu
Der riter sprach vber meinen danck
Mag ich nit pussen so lanck
Der vater sprach pus ein bochen
Wan du hast manchen feirtag geprochen
Der riter sprach ich enmag
Gieb mir pus auff einen tag
Der vater docht in seinem mut
Las ich dich an pus das ist nit gut
Der vater sprach ich wil das wol wenden
Du hast ein cappellen vor deiner purg stent
Magstu darinnen peleiben ein nacht
Mit deiner gantzen manes macht
Das du daraus kompst nicht
Was dir halt darumb geschiht

Das setz ich fur dein schuld
Und gieb dir bieder gottes huld
Der riter sprach jch ich thu es geren
Der pus wil ich nit enperen
Ich wil ein nacht peleiben
In der cappellen mein zeit vertreiben
Und daraus komen nicht
Wie mir halt darumb geschiht
Der heilig vater schikt jn von dannen
Und lies jn auch pannen
Und gab in wider die cristenheit
Wan er die sundt oft het geclayt
Der riter zu seiner purge reit
Vmb sein sund was im laid
Do er die cappellen ansach
Nun hort bie er zw jm selber sprach
Man sol nit lenger peiten
Ich wil pussen pei zeiten
Ich will heint in der cappelan sein
Fur alle mein schuld und sunde mein
Er hies die knecht heim reiten
Und das man auch sein nit dorst peiten
Er wolt auch in der cappellen pleiben
Die nacht darinnen vertreiben
Es riten heim die knecht
Der riter pleib vil recht
In der cappellen die nacht
Do kom dar vil manig schlacht
Der tewffel gar ain michel schar
Lucifer kom auch dar
Die huben sich alle zu der cappellen
Lucifer sprach zu seinen gesellen
Wir haben den riter verloren
Seit er hat die cappellen auserkoren
Mocht mir jn machen unstet
Das er der pus nicht verprecht

Und man jn precht fur das cappellen tor
 So wirt er wider unser als vor
 Do sprach ein tewfel eben
 Her luzifer wildu mir vrlaub geben
 Ich pring in fur dass cappellen tor
 So wirt er wider vnser als vor
 Lucifer sprach hab gewalt
 Und sie was du vermagst pald
 Der tewfel der was wild
 Er nom an siech eins menschen pild
 Der tewfel vil wol weste
 Das er vil volget ihrem rate
 Sie sprach pruder was thust du do
 Wais du nicht das ich pin unfroh
 Vnd alles dein gesind vnd dein lewt
 Die sind alle betrupt hewt
 Dein veint haben dein purg vmbgeben
 Kum aus der cappellen vnd ret vns das leben
 Der riter sprach swester mein
 Ich sol die nacht jn der cappelen sein
 Das hat man mir zw pus geben
 Das will ich halten gar eben
 Die sbester sprach so gelaub mir
 Das ich nymer gerat dir
 In allen deinen sachen
 Du wolst dich aus der Cappellen machen
 Der riter sprach ich kum hinaus nicht
 Was mir halt darumb geschiht
 Der tewfel mocht sein nit gebinnen
 Er fur zu dem Lucifer hin.

Lucifer sprach wie ist es ergangen dir
 Hastu gowonne den Ritter mir
 Der tewffel sprach er ist allein
 Herter vil dan ein stayn

Ein stain mocht man vil ee gewinnen
Dan man jn precht aus seinen synnen.
Lucifer sprach auff meinen wan
Ich pin nicht geren des ritters an
Do sprach einer ander tewfel pald
Lucifer gieb mir den gewalt
Ich pring jn aus der cappellen pald
Mit meinen Listen die ich kan
Lucifer sprach var hin
Vnd tracht wie das wir jn gebinnen
Der tewfel was vil wild
Er nom an siech des ritters frawen pild
Sam es wer die lieb hausfraw sein
Vnd'trang zu der cappellen hinein
Vnd furt zwei kint das ist war
Sie liff her mit gestrewtem har
Vnd mit zerissen gewant
Sie sprach das ir seid geschant
Wie liegt jr hewt jn dieser cappellen
Vnd lat die veint vmb vnser purg schnellen
Vnd lat vns nemen was wir haben
Nw must ir doch selber snaben
Kumt heraus vnd eilt in nach
Wan jn ist nit vast gach
Ir erfarent sie wa noch an in
Oder sie treibens es als hin
Der riter sprach ich thu sein nicht
Was mir halt darvmb geschiht
Die fraw die sprach so will ich toden
Ewre kind in diesen noten
Die kinder begunden weinen
Sie warff die kinder auff die stein
Sie sprach wolt jr in der cappellen bestan
So must ir den tod an ewren kinder sehen an
Der riter sprach solest du doten kind
Und ich kum aus der cappellen nicht

Man hat mir zu pus geben
Für mein sundiges leben
Sol ich die nacht in der cappellen peleiben
Vnd die nacht da innen vertreiben
Des ander tewffel list die waren entwichen
Er kund jn pringen aus der cappellen nicht
Er für zw lucifer unfro
Er sprach wie hastu es geschickt ser
Wirt vns wider der richter
Der mit seinem sinne ist so piter
Der ander tewffel sprach allein
Adamo den herten stein
Den baiht man ee dan den man
Ich getraw jm nicht gesigen an
Do sprach der drit tewffel so vest
Ich wil thun das allerpest
Herr luciffer erlaup mir dar,
Ich wil dich lassen werden gewar
Ich kan mer dan mein gesellen
Ich bring in wol auss der cappellen
Lucifer sprach hab gewalt
Vnd bring in auss der capellen pald
Darumb ich dich krunen wil
Er nom an siech eins menschen pild
For an der seinen gesellen vil
Der drit tewffel was wild
Er schickt das noch wan
Das es vber allen vmb die cappellen pran
Es schlug das fewr zu dem fenster hinein
Von dem fewr ward jn der cappellen ein schein
Do es alles vestes pran
Do kom der teufelisch man
Vnd sties den kopf zw der tur hinein
Er sprach mag nymant hinnen sein
Der riter sprach ja ich pin hinnen
Der tewffel sprach wolt ir verprinnen

Lauff aus der cappellen du werder man
Ir verprint vnd solt die werlt an ewch stan
Der riter sprach was mir jmer geschiht
Ich kum aus der cappellen nicht
Der tewfel sprach wolt jr mit willen verpryunen
So beschawt ir gottes amplick nymer
Man hat mir zu pus geben manig schlacht
Das ich in der cappellen sol sein die nacht
Der tewffel sprach ir solt nit vermeiden
Arm lewt sein in grossen leiden
Vnd helft jn diesen fewr das ist not
Vnd kumpt heraus es vodert got
Von ewch au dem letzten tag
Hort ir nicht der arm lewt clag
Der ritter sprach ich wil peleiben
Die nacht in der cappellen vertreiben
Es pring benig oder vil
In der cappellen ich peleiben wil.
Der tewfel schwf avch nichts
Seiner list waren allen entbicht
Sein trugnus ward gar verloren
Er schied von dannen mit grossen zoren
Vnd fur zu Luciffer heim
Vnd sprach ich hab nie mensch sin
So stet so vst erkennet
Als der riter ist den jr mir nennet
Man geban ee allein
Kisling oder die aller hertzten stein
Die auff ertrich je sein gewesen
Ich wolt ben er mocht wol genesen
Vor allen tewfel aus der helle
Vnd ir pringt aus der geschiht
Ir tewffel ir kunnet alle nicht
Ich kan mer dan ir all drei
Ich wan das ich der listigst sei
Da von lieber lucifer

Ich wil schiken grossen ere
 Erlaub mir zu dem ritter gail
 Das ich besuch mein hail
 Lucifer sprach auch var hin
 Vnd bring aus der cappellen jn
 Der virt teuffel so zu hant
 Nam an sich pristerlich gebant
 Ein karock het er an
 Er begund in die cappellen gan
 Er trug ein puch an seinem arm
 Er gedacht du hast nündert kein darm
 Ich wolt jn versuchen vnd durch dringen
 Ob ich dich aus der cappellen mug pringen
 Er sprach seit ir do ir riter
 Ewr leben ist vor got piter
 Ir hapt manig kirchen gebrochen
 Das stet alles noch vngerochen
 Darvmb so seit jr in den pan
 Ir sult aus der kirchen gar schier gan
 Ich wil mess jtzunt lesen
 Ir peniger riter ir sult dapei nit wesen
 Vnd get fur die cappellen hinaus
 Von euch wirt gehintert das gots haus
 Wolt ir mess lesen
 Der ritter sprach
 Darzu thu ich ewch kein vngemach
 Ir mugt wol mes lesen
 Ich wil in der cappellen besen
 Der tewffel sprach auff meinem wan
 Alle kirchen precher sain in des pabs pan
 Darvmb du fur die cappellen gee
 Das ich vber alder ste
 Der riter sprach man hat mir geben
 Thu pus fur mein sundiges leben
 Das ich ein nach sol sein hinnen
 Ir kunt mich mit nichten hinaus pringen

Der tewfel sprach du hast recht
Du bist doch des tewfels knecht
Wan du wild doch gottes dienst sawmen
Darumb du must den himel rawmen
Sein ist genung an der posheit dein
Ander lewt wildu auch sewmig sein
Vnd mich an der mese mein
Darvmb du wirst leiden pein
Der riter sprach zu dem prister
In dieser capellen ist mein ger
Vnd wil auch darinnen sein
Vnd halden die pus mein
Auch sprach der tewfel wie ein steter man
Den nimant vberwinden kan
Also die anfechtung ein ende nom
Damit der liecht tag kom
Vnd schein vber alle land
Der riter ging so zu hand
Hin heim auff sein veste hoch
Sein frawen vand er schloffen noch
Vnd sein kinder alle gesunt
Er danckt Got zu aller stund
Das er was peliben so stet
Vnd des tewffels anfechtung widerstanden het
Er nom an siech ein heiligs leben
Vnd begun nach Gottes huld streben
Die wart jm auch sicherlich
In den fron himelreich
Des riters engel dopei was
Do der tewffel mit seinem has
Den riter also ser hat angefochten
Vnd in nit vberwinden mocht
Das was der engel froh
Er fur zu dem heiligen vater do
Vnd sagt jm frolich mer
Wie der riter bider bestanden ber

Das begund jm wolgefallen
 Vnd danckt got von himelreich
 Das er so parmhertzig wil sein
 Vber sunder vnd sunderin
 Darumb so sullen wir pitten got
 Wen bir angefochten werden
 Von dem posen geist hie auff erden
 Das uns dan beistan wol got
 Vnd uns helffen auss aller not
 Dass helff uns allermeist
 Der vater und der sun und der heilig geist
 Darzu die berd maid
 Die ist ein grundt vest der barmherzigkait Amen.

Das ist ein hwbsche histori von
 einem riter bie er pwsset.

F. G. G. SCHMIDT.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1896.

VOL. XI, 3.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IV, 3.

X.—ÜBER GOETHE'S SONETTE.

Es giebt kaum eine Dichtungsart, deren Werth so lebhaft bestritten worden ist und die dennoch eine so grosse Rolle in der Literatur aller westeuropäischen Völker gespielt hat, als das Sonett. Schon hieraus kann man schliessen, dass die Vorzüge dieser poetischen Form doch nicht so gering sein können, wie dies öfters behauptet worden ist. Es könnte ferner aber auch daraus gefolgert werden, dass bald nach dem Bekanntwerden des Sonetts in Frankreich die Franzosen den Italienern das Verdienst, es in die Literatur eingeführt zu haben, streitig zu machen suchten. Seit jedoch Friedrich Diez, der Begründer der romanischen Philologie, Italien als die Heimat des Sonetts nachgewiesen hat, wird der italienische Ursprung desselben wohl ziemlich allgemein als feststehend anerkannt. Aus Italien gelangte es im XVI. Jahrhundert, wie nach den übrigen romanischen Ländern, so auch nach Frankreich und gleichfalls nach England, wo es sich am eigenartigsten, aber ohne auf die anderen Literaturen einen Einfluss auszuüben, entwickelt hat. Überall war *Petrarca* das Vorbild, von dem man ausgieng, oder das Ideal, dem sich die Sonettendichtung, wenn sie auf Abwege gerathen war, in ihren edleren Bestrebungen wieder so viel wie möglich zu nähern suchte. Durch ihn war ja be-

kanntlich diese Dichtungsform zur grössten Vollendung und Popularität gebracht worden.

Und in der That ist diese schöne, kunstvolle, aber auch schwierige poetische Form wegen ihres harmonischen Baues, wie auch wegen ihres Reichthums an Reimen für die reflectierende Lyrik ganz besonders geeignet. Ohne auf die Entstehung wie auf die verschiedenen Formen und Arten des Sonetts näher einzugehen, möge nur daran erinnert werden, dass die Hauptform desselben, das streng gebaute italienische Sonett, stets aus vierzehn elfsilbigen oder in deutscher Nachbildung fünftaktigen, klingend, öfters auch stumpf endigenden jambischen Versen besteht und in zwei, durch die Reime, wie durch eine stets nothwendige Satzpause von einander getrennte Theile zerfällt. Diese beiden Haupttheile scheiden sich wieder in je zwei, gleichfalls durch eine Satzpause von einander getrennte Strophen von je vier und je drei Versen, Quartette und Terzette genannt. Die ersteren haben fast immer die Reimstellung *abba abba* (selten *abab abab*). Die letzteren können entweder zwei oder drei Reime in verschiedener Folge haben, nach dem Belieben des Dichters. Bei zwei Reimen ist die Anordnung *cdc dcd* die häufigste, daneben kommen auch *odd odc*, *odd doc* manchmal vor. Bei drei Reimen ist die Stellung *ode cde* besonders beliebt, doch auch andere, wie namentlich *ode dce*, sind manchmal, *cdc dee* dagegen ist selten anzutreffen. So zerfällt also das Sonett in vier selbständige Strophen, denen auch die innere Gedankenfolge entsprechen muss, so zwar, dass mit jeder neuen Strophe eine neue Wendung einzutreten hat. Von dem italienischen Theoretiker Quadrio ist dieser logische Aufbau des Sonetts sogar dahin formuliert worden, dass das erste Quartett die Aufgabe habe, eine Behauptung aufzustellen, das zweite, sie zu beweisen, das erste Terzett, sie zu bestätigen, das zweite, den Schluss des Ganzen zu ziehen. Diese rigorosen Anforderungen sind aber weder in der italienischen, noch auch in der deutschen und sonstigen Sonettendichtung immer strenge beobachtet worden. Namentlich die Sinn- und Satzpause nach dem elften Verse,

also zwischen den beiden Terzetten, wird manchmal nicht eingehalten, und dadurch, dass dann diese zu einem, mehr oder weniger enge zusammenhängenden Strophentheile verbunden werden, macht in solchen Fällen das ganze Sonett, wegen der gewöhnlich streng eingehaltenen Pause zwischen den beiden Quartetten, einen dreitheiligen Eindruck.

In dieser strengen italienischen Form wurde aber das Sonett anfangs nicht in der deutschen Literatur gepflegt. Vielmehr scheint Fischart, der in den siebziger Jahren des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts die ersten deutschen Sonette dichtete,¹ und zwar in viertaktigen jambischen Versen, an französische Muster sich angelehnt zu haben. Der eigentliche Modevers des französischen Sonetts war aber damals schon der Alexandriner, und in dieser Versart, gewöhnlich mit der Reimfolge *abba abba cdd eed*, wurde das Sonett im 17^{ten} Jahrhundert auch in Deutschland gepflegt, so von Weckherlin, wenn auch dieser in der Reimstellung die italienische Form einführt, von Opitz, dem eigentlichen Förderer des Sonetts, von Simon Dach, Paul Fleming, Andreas Gryphius und vielen Anderen. Die Stoffe, die sie behandelten, gehörten den verschiedensten Gebieten an. Geistliche Stoffe wurden gern gewählt, auch kurze Charakteristiken geschichtlicher Persönlichkeiten in Sonettenform waren beliebt, ferner diente es zu Gelegenheitsgedichten verschiedener Art, vor allen Dingen aber, wie in Frankreich, Italien und allerwärts, dem ewig unerschöpflichen Thema der Liebe. Im Laufe der Zeit war aber mehr und mehr der gediegene, tiefere Gehalt, der die Sonette eines Weckherlin, Paul Fleming, Andreas Gryphius charakterisiert hatte, von der blossen Pflege der äusseren Form verdrängt worden, die in allerlei Reimspielereien und sonstigen Veränderungen und Erweiterungen zu Tage trat.

Charakteristisch ist es, dass in allen Sprachen, die das Sonett pflegten, zu gewissen Zeiten Gedichte dieser Art auftauchten, welche die Entstehungsart eines solchen in der Form dessel-

¹ vgl. Dr. Heinrich Welter, *Geschichte des Sonettes in der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1884, S. 59 ff.

ben zum Gegenstande hatten, wie z. B. das folgende aus dem Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts von Menke (Welti, a. a. O. S. 137), welches noch dazu die Reime der Quartette auch in den Terzetten beibehält:

“Bey meiner Treu! es wird mir Angst gemacht;
 Ich soll geschwind ein rein Sonetgen sagen,
 Und meine Kunst in vierzehn Zeilen wagen,
 Bevor ich mich auf rechten Stoff bedacht.
 Was reimt sich nun auf agen und auf acht?
 Doch eh ich kan mein Reim-Register fragen,
 Und in dem Sinn das ABC durchjagen,
 So wird bereits der halbe Theil belacht.
 Kann ich nun noch sechs Verse dazu tragen,
 So darf ich mich mit keinen Grillen plagen:
 Wolan da sind schon wieder drey vollbracht;
 Und weil noch viel in meinem vollen Kragen,
 So darf ich nicht am letzten Reim verzagen,
 Bey meiner Treu! das Werk ist schon gemacht.”

So ist es begreiflich, dass eine Dichtungsform, die in eine blosse Spielerei ausartete, überall in der Literatur, sobald sich in ihr ein ernsteres Streben nach Vertiefung des Inhalts, ein idealer Aufschwung zu höheren Zielen bemerkbar machte, von den Dichtern als der freien Entfaltung ihrer Individualität unwürdig verschmäht und verfolgt wurde. So geschah es in Frankreich, wo Molière und Boileau das Sonett verspotteten und in Miscredit brachten, so im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert in England, wo die einst so blühende Sonettendichtung der Shakspeare'schen Epoche um die Zeit ganz und gar der Verachtung preisgegeben war, so auch in Deutschland, wo sich schon Christian Weise und Gottsched unter dem Einfluss Boileaus abträglich über das Sonett geäußert hatten, und wo es von Dichtern wie Bodmer, Breitinger, Hagedorn, Klopstock, Lessing, Schiller und anderen vor und während der Sturm- und Drang-Periode verschmäht und zum Theil mit Spott überschüttet wurde.

Indess gänzlich liess sich diese früher so beliebte Dichtungsform doch nicht mehr unterdrücken. Westermann rief es

1765, wenn auch zu geschmackloser Verwendung, wieder ins Leben; Schiebeler, Klamer Schmidt, Gleim, Friedrich Schmit pflegten es, Gottfried August Bürger aber brachte es mit seinen formvollendeten erotischen Sonetten, die jedoch grösstentheils in fünftaktigen Trochäen geschrieben waren, aufs neue zur Blüthe und führte dadurch allerdings auch eine wahre Überschwemmung von Sonetten herbei, die nun wieder die schärfste Opposition der Gegner hervorrief.

Gleichwohl erreichte zur selben Zeit oder vielmehr ein Decennium später das Sonett den höchsten Gipfel der Vollendung durch August Wilhelm von Schlegel, der schon 1788 auf der Universität gleichzeitig mit dem ihm befreundeten Bürger sich der Sonett-Dichtung zuwandte, anfangs Petrarca'sche Sonette, zum Theil recht frei, sowohl hinsichtlich des Inhalts, wie auch der Form, allmählich aber immer correcter, übertrug und 1798 mit seinen "Geistlichen Gemälden," Sonetten auf die berühmten religiösen Gemälde der Dresdener Gallerie, ferner in seinen Spottsonetten auf Merkel und Kotzebue, seinen Trauersonetten auf den Tod seiner Stieftochter und anderen zur Vollkommenheit hinsichtlich der früher schon charakterisierten, streng italienischen Form, wie auch des mehr und mehr vertieften Inhalts durchdrang. Denn auch in dieser Hinsicht hob er das Sonett aus dem engen Bereich des subjectiven Liebesgefühls, in welchem Bürger es noch festgehalten hatte, zu den idealsten Aufgaben lyrischer Didaktik empor.

So wurde für das Sonett sowohl durch seine leidenschaftlichen Gegner, wie auch durch seine eifrigen Vertheidiger und erfolgreichen Förderer zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts das höchste Interesse in der Literatur erregt. Es entbrannte aufs neue ein wahrer Krieg um das Sonett, namentlich zwischen Joh. Heinr. Voss und den Romantikern, und dieser Sonettenkrieg¹ wurde zum Theil dadurch mit herbeigeführt, dass Goethe, der früher, abgesehen von zwei, im Jahre 1796 verfassten Übersetzungen der in der Lebensbeschreibung des

¹ vgl. Welti, S. 197-219.

Benvenuto Cellini enthaltenen Sonette, keine Gedichte dieser Art geschaffen hatte, einige Jahre später dieser Dichtungsform nun auch seine Theilnahme zuwandte.

Um die Wende des Jahrhunderts hatte Goethe mit zwei Spottsonetten,¹ die in der für solche Zwecke damals auch von Schlegel und Tieck gebrauchten italienischen Nebenform des *sonetto codato*, eines um ein drittes Terzett verlängerten sogenannten Schweifsonetts, abgefasst waren, für die Brüder Schlegel, gegen Böttiger, Kotzebue und Merkel energisch Partei genommen. Von Schiller wissen wir, dass das erste derselben "eine böse Sensation gemacht" und wegen der Derbheit des Ausdrucks bei den Damen Anstoss erregt habe.² Es ist unthunlich, auf diese beiden Sonette, mit denen wir zu tief in die literarischen Fehden jener Zeit hineingerathen würden, hier näher einzugehen.

Von grösserem Interesse ist für uns eines von zwei anderen Sonetten Goethes, die im Jahre 1802 erschienen waren, und die er beide in zwei dramatische Dichtungen eingeflochten hatte. Das eine ist das in dem Trauerspiel *Die natürliche Tochter* in der vierten Scene des zweiten Actes enthaltene Sonett *Eugeniens*, das andere, wichtigere, befindet sich in dem zur Eröffnung des Lauchstädter neuen Schauspielhauses 1802 aufgeführten Vorspiel. Unter dem Titel *Natur und Kunst* steht es auch im zweiten Bande der Gedichte, wo es das zweite ist in dem mit *Epigrammatisch* überschriebenen Abschnitt, während das erste dieser Abtheilung die Überschrift *Das Sonett* trägt. Diese beiden Sonette sind schon aus dem Grunde von hervorragendem Interesse, weil sie zu dem Sonetten-Krieg in directer Beziehung stehen. Während das zweite, *Natur und Kunst*, vermuthlich im Jahre 1802, jedenfalls nicht später, verfasst wurde, sind wir über die Entstehungszeit des ersten noch weniger genau orientiert. Gedruckt wurde es erst im Morgenblatt vom 5^{ten} Januar 1807 von Haug, der es ohne

¹ *Goethes Werke*, VI, 158, 159 (vgl. *Goethes Werke* von G. von Loeper, Berlin, 1834, III, 323-325; Welti, a. a. O. S. 184-190).

² vgl. Welti, a. a. O. S. 189.

Goethes Einwilligung aus dem 1806 von ihm an Cotta gesandten Manuscript zum ersten Bande der Gesamtausgabe entnommen hatte. Man hat daraus den Schluss gestatten wollen, dass es erst im Jahre 1805 oder 1806 entstanden sei, aber schwerlich mit Recht. Im Gegentheil, die beiden Sonette machen durchaus den Eindruck, dass sie bald nacheinander geschrieben wurden; sie verhalten sich wie zwei Pendants, in denen der Dichter in objectiver Weise zuerst die Schattenseite und dann die Lichtseite der Sonettendichtung vorführt, wie aus dem Inhalt sofort ersichtlich ist. Sie stehen wohl beide, jedenfalls aber das erste, *Das Sonett* überschriebene, zu dem ebenso betitelten, viel citierten Sonett von August Wilhelm von Schlegel, welches 1800 erschienen war, in enger Beziehung. Schlegel hatte darin das Wesen und die Bedeutung des Sonetts in mustergültiger Weise auseinandergesetzt mit folgenden Worten:

DAS SONETT.

Zwei Reime heiss' ich viermal kehren wieder,
 Und stelle sie, geteilt, in gleiche Reihen,
 Dass hier wie dort zwei, eingefasst von zweien,
 Im Doppelchore schweben auf und nieder,
 Dann schlingt des Gleichlauts Kette durch zwei Glieder
 Sich freier wechselnd, jegliches von dreien.
 In solcher Ordnung, solcher Zahl gedeihen
 Die zartesten und stolzesten der Lieder.
 Den werd' ich nie mit meinen Zeilen kränzen,
 Dem eitle Spielerei mein Wesen dünket,
 Und Eigensinn die künstlichen Gesetze.
 Doch, wem in mir geheimer Zauber winket,
 Dem leih' ich Hoheit, Füll' in engen Grenzen,
 Und reines Ebenmass der Gegensätze.

G. von Loeper ist der Ansicht (*Goethes Werke*, II, 464), und vielleicht mit Recht, dass Goethe unmittelbar nach dem Erscheinen der Schlegel'schen Gedichte an dieses Sonett mit dem seinen, ebenso betitelten, angeknüpft habe, in welchem er aber dem unbedingten Lobe, welches Schlegel dem Sonett gespendet hatte, und welches Goethe ihn in den beiden Quar-

tetten als Vertreter der neuen Schule wiederholen lässt, in den Terzetten seine eigenen Bedenken gegenüberstellt.

DAS SONETT.

Sich in erneutem Kunstgebrauch zu üben,
Ist heilige Pflicht, die wir dir auferlegen:
Du kannst dich auch wie wir bestimmt bewegen
Nach Tritt und Schritt, wie es dir vorgeschrieben.
Denn eben die Beschränkung lässt sich lieben,
Wenn sich die Geister gar gewaltig regen;
Und wie sie sich denn auch gebärden mögen,
Das Werk zuletzt ist doch vollendet blieben.
So möcht' ich selbst in künstlichen Sonetten,
In sprachgewandter Masse kühnem Stolze,
Das Beste, was Gefühl mir gäbe, reimen;
Nur weiss ich nicht mich hier bequem zu betten;
Ich schneide sonst so gern aus ganzem Holze,
Und müsste nun doch auch mitunter leimen.

Wie ganz anders äussert sich Goethe über das Wesen dieser Dichtungsart in dem zweiten der epigrammatischen Sonette, *Natur und Kunst* betitelt, welches, wie gesagt, sicherlich als Pendant zu dem ersten anzusehen ist, sei es, dass es unmittelbar danach, also vielleicht schon im Jahre 1800 entstand und erst später in das Vorspiel *Was wir bringen* aufgenommen wurde, wie man aus den Worten

„Im Sinne schwebt mir eines Dichters alter Spruch,“

womit die Nymphe es einleitet, schliessen könnte, oder dass es gleichzeitig mit diesem Vorspiel, also im Jahre 1802, verfasst wurde und des Dichters im Laufe der Zeit veränderte Auffassung wiedergab.

NATUR UND KUNST.

Natur und Kunst sie scheinen sich zu fliehen,
Und haben sich, eh' man es denkt, gefunden.
Der Widerwille ist auch mir entschwunden,
Und beide scheinen gleich mich anzuziehen.

Es gilt wohl nur ein redliches Bemühen!
 Und wenn wir erst, in abgemessnen Stunden,
 Mit Geist und Fleiss uns an die Kunst gebunden,
 Mag frei Natur im Herzen wieder glühen.
 So ist's mit aller Bildung auch beschaffen:
 Vergebens werden ungebund'ne Geister
 Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben.
 Wer Grosses will, muss sich zusammenraffen:
 In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,
 Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.

Dass Goethe, nachdem er mit diesem herrlichen Gedicht der Sonettendichtung die höchste Anerkennung gezollt hatte, nachträglich doch noch zu Ungunsten derselben sich hätte aussprechen und gleichwohl bald darauf die Serie der noch näher zu betrachtenden siebzehn Liebessonette hätte dichten sollen, wie wir annehmen müssten, wenn das erste epigrammatische, *Das Sonett* überschriebene Sonett 1805 oder 1806 entstanden sein soll, ist allerdings ganz undenkbar. Zudem weist aber auch das zweite Gedicht mit dem Verse

“Der Widerwille ist auch mir entschwunden”

ausdrücklich auf das erste hin, denn unter dem Widerwillen ist nur die Abneigung gegen das Sonett zu verstehen, die sich in den beiden Terzetten des diese Überschrift tragenden Gedichts ausspricht, und auch der Vers

“In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister”

ist nur eine Steigerung des in dem Verse des ersten Sonetts

“Denn eben die Beschränkung lässt sich lieben”

ausgesprochenen Gedankens, der seinerseits wohl wieder durch das Schlegel'sche

“Dem leih' ich Hoheit, Füll' in engen Grenzen”

angeregt worden ist.

Aber auch den angeblichen früheren Widerwillen gegen die Sonettendichtung, von dem Goethe in dem zweiten dieser

Sonette redet, und dem er in dem ersten Ausdruck gegeben hatte, darf man nicht allzu ernst nehmen. Vielmehr hat er, wie mir scheint, in dem ersten Gedichte die dem Sonett so gern von den Gegnern desselben entgegengehaltenen Nachteile dieser Dichtungsart, die oft durch die Schwierigkeit der Reimordnung herbeigeführte Künstelei der Diction, die gezwungenen Wendungen und Ausdrücke, mit einer liebenswürdigen Selbstironie, durch eine bewusste Vernachlässigung der Form aufs glücklichste und anschaulichste illustriert. Schon gleich der erste Vers :

“Sich in erneutem Kunstgebrauch zu üben”

klingt etwas geschraubt, namentlich aber der zehnte Vers :

“In sprachgewandter Masse kühnem Stolze;”

und in dem achten Verse :

“Das Werk zuletzt ist doch vollendet blieben”

gebraucht er offenbar die durch den Reim erzwungene Wendung “vollendet blieben” statt des natürlichen Ausdrucks “vollendet worden.” Dass Goethe mit Absicht diese gezwungenen Wendungen gewählt oder sie wenigstens, nachdem sie ihm aus der Feder geflossen waren, mit Bewusstsein hat stehen lassen, da sie ihm in vortrefflicher Weise zur formalen Illustration seines Themas dienten, ist mir ganz unzweifelhaft. Und dass er dem zweiten Gedicht *Natur und Kunst*, welches mit einem Preise der Kunstpoesie in dieser verfeinertsten Form beginnt, und sich im Schluss zu einem begeisterten Hymnus auf alle Bildung und die nothwendige Unterordnung unter höhere Gesetze für alles Streben nach der reinen Höhe der Vollendung—im Gegensatz zu den künstlerischen und sittlichen Ausschreitungen der Romantiker aufschwingt,—dass er diesem schönen Sonett auch die denkbar vollendetste äussere Form geben musste, ist nicht minder selbstverständlich. Diese vollkommene Harmonie aber, die zwischen Inhalt

und Form in diesem Gedicht herrscht, indem die darin niedergelegten bedeutungsvollen, für alle Zeit gültigen sittlichen Wahrheiten in der ungezwungensten und doch kunstvollsten Form und Sprache ausgedrückt sind, hat es bewirkt, dass die drei letzten Verse dieses Sonetts :

“ Wer Grosses will, muss sich zusammenraffen :
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,
Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.”

jeder für sich zu geflügelten Worten geworden sind.

Nur beiläufig sei noch erwähnt, dass begreiflicher Weise beide Parteien, die Anhänger, wie auch die Gegner der Sonettenpoesie, den Dichter auf Grundlage je eines dieser beiden Sonette als den ihrigen reclamierten. Goethe selber aber nahm den einzig richtigen Standpunkt in dieser Streitfrage ein, wie wir aus seinem Briefe an Zelter ersehen, dem er am 22. Juni 1808 von Karlsbad aus schrieb: “ Und was soll es nun gar heissen, eine rhythmische Form, das Sonett z. B., mit Hass und Wuth zu verfolgen, da sie ja nur ein Gefäss ist, in das jeder von Gehalt hineinlegen kann was er vermag. Wie lächerlich ist's, mein Sonett, in dem ich einigermassen zu Ungunsten der Sonette gesprochen, immer wiederkauen, aus einer ästhetischen Sache eine Parteysache zu machen und mich als Parteygesellen heranzuziehen, ohne zu bedenken, dass man recht gut über eine Sache spassen und spotten kann, ohne sie deswegen zu verachten und zu verwerfen.”

Goethe, der schon im April desselben Jahres in einem Briefe an Cotta, den Besitzer des *Morgenblattes*, sich gewundert, dass die Redacteurs desselben “ gegen das Sonett eine so komische Aversion bewiesen ” und den Ausruf hinzugefügt hatte: “ Als wenn dem Genie und dem Talent nicht jede Form zu beleben freistünde ! ” sah sich zu diesen Äusserungen um so mehr veranlasst, als er nach fünfjähriger Pause in der Sonettendichtung sich im Spätherbst des Jahres 1807 derselben mit einer besonderen Zuneigung hingegeben hatte. Und zwar war es damals das Liebessonett, welches er mit sol-

chem Eifer pflegte, dass er in kurzer Zeit die schon erwähnte Serie von 17 Sonetten schuf und sich in einem derselben, *Nemesis* betitelt, mit der ihm eigenen, von Riemer besonders hervorgehobenen liebenswürdigen Selbstironie über seine "Sonettenwuth und Raserei der Liebe" lustig macht.

11. NEMESIS.

Wenn durch das Volk die grimme Seuche wüthet,
Soll man vorsichtig die Gesellschaft lassen.
Auch hab' ich oft mit Zaudern und Verpassen
Vor manchen Influenzen mich gehütet.
Und obgleich Amor öfters mich begütet,
Mocht' ich zuletzt mich nicht mit ihm befassen.
So ging mir's auch mit jenen Lakrimassen,
Als vier- und dreifach reimend sie gebrütet.
Nun aber folgt die Strafe dem Verächter,
Als wenn die Schlangenfackel der Erinnen
Von Berg zu Thal, von Land zu Meer ihn triebe.
Ich höre wohl der Genien Gelächter;
Doch trennet mich von jeglichem Besinnen
Sonettenwuth und Raserei der Liebe.

Dass wir es hier mit einer absichtlichen komischen Übertreibung zu thun haben, liegt auf der Hand, denn die "Sonettenwuth," von der der Dichter redet, tobte sich aus in der doch nicht so sehr grossen Anzahl von siebzehn Gedichten dieser Art, und die "Raserei der Liebe," deren sich der damals bald sechzigjährige Dichter und Geheime Rath Excellenz von Goethe schuldig bekennt, reducirt sich nach den meines Erachtens unabweisbaren Ergebnissen neuerer Forschung auf das an Liebe grenzende Wohlgefallen, welches eine anmuthige Mädchenerscheinung des Frommann'schen Hauses in Jena, in welchem Goethe, so oft er sich dort aufhielt, viel verkehrte, seinem leicht erregbaren Dichtergemüth einflösste, und, combinirt mit ähnlichen Begegnungen und Erlebnissen etwas früherer Tage, in der damals gerade durch verschiedene Anlässe ihn lebhaft anziehenden Sonettenform seinen Ausdruck fand.

Kurz, die treibenden Motive für diesen im Jahre 1807 entstandenen Sonettenkranz Goethes sind angedeutet durch Nennung der Namen Petrarca, Zacharias Werner, Minna Herzlieb, Bettina Brentano. Die beiden ersteren gaben den äusseren, die beiden letzteren den inneren Anlass dazu. Im Jahre 1806 war bei dem Buchhändler Frommann in Jena, dem Freunde des Dichters, eine neue Ausgabe der *Rime di Francesco Petrarca* erschienen, und dadurch, sowie wohl noch mehr durch die Sonette des damals in Jena weilenden unstäten Dichters Zacharias Werner, die, ebenso wie diejenigen Schlegels und Anderer, in dem Frommann'schen Kreise gern vorgelesen wurden, wurde, wie Rieme in seinen *Mittheilungen über Goethe* (Berlin, 1841, I, 34–36) berichtet hat, auch dieser aufs neue zur Sonettendichtung angeregt, und zwar war es, wie gesagt, das Liebessonett, dem er, in ähnlicher Situation wie Petrarca, der Sänger der Platonischen Liebe, sich befindend, seine Gunst zuwandte. Denn Goethe fühlte sich damals, ein Jahr nachdem er seinem Bunde mit Christiane Vulpius die kirchliche Weihe hatte geben lassen, von der jugendlich-schönen, unter seinen Augen herangewachsenen Minna Herzlieb, einer Pflgetochter des Frommann'schen Hauses, lebhaft angezogen und brachte ihr, ähnlich wie Petrarca der mit dem Ritter Hugues de Sade vermählten Laura, wenn anders die von dem italienischen Dichter besungene Schöne mit jener Dame identisch ist, seine poetischen Huldigungen dar. Doch sind nicht alle die siebzehn Sonette als an Minna Herzlieb gerichtet oder auch nur durch sie angeregt anzusehen, wenn es auch wohl zu weit gegangen ist, nur drei derselben, das zwölfte, sechzehnte und siebzehnte, wie Düntzer will, auf sie zu beziehen.

Es hat lange gedauert, bis überhaupt Goethes Beziehungen zu Minna Herzlieb, die ja bekanntlich auch seiner Ottilie in den *Wahlverwandschaften* die Züge geliehen hat, bekannt geworden sind. Erst der Engländer Lewis hat dies in seiner 1855 erschienenen Goethe-Biographie enthüllt, Adolf Stahr hat es in seinem Buche, *Goethes Frauengestalten* (vierte Auf-

lage, Berlin, 1872) weiter aufzudecken gesucht, und neuere Untersuchungen haben dessen und Hesses Ausführungen,¹ die den Boden der Thatfachen in romanhafter Darstellung verliessen, kritisch beleuchtet. Es hat sich so schon eine nicht unbeträchtliche Literatur an diese Frage angesponnen, die noch verwickelter geworden ist durch die weitere Frage, in welcher Beziehung Bettina Brentano zu den Sonetten stehe.

Bettina hatte bekanntlich in ihrem 1835 erschienenen Buche, *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* einen Theil der Sonette "sich bona fide als an sie gedichtet und gerichtet angeeignet" und einige derselben in ihren Briefen "in Prosa aufgedröselte," aus der man, wie Riemer a. a. O. mit Recht hervorhebt, noch das Silbenmass mit der Wort und Satzfolge hindurchhört. "Goethe," bemerkt er weiter zu den Sonetten, "hat solche weder an sie noch auf sie gedichtet, wenn es auch möglich, sogar gewiss sei, dass er ihr eins oder das andere gesendet habe." "Der Stoff," fährt Riemer fort, "ist ganz wo anders her und eine Menge in den Sonetten vorkommender Umstände kann schon dem Ort und der Zeit nach, auch gewisser Verhältnisse wegen, gar nicht auf Bettinen bezogen werden," und er bekräftigt diese Behauptung durch die Angabe, "dass ein Dutzend dieser Sonette schon 1807, vom 29. Nov. Adventus domini an bis 16. December, in Jena verfertigt und durch seine Hand gegangen sei."

Aber Riemer, der hiermit die ersten wichtigen Daten und Hinweise zur Beurtheilung der Goetheschen Liebessonette geliefert hat, ist, wie neuere Untersuchungen erwiesen haben, in der Zurückweisung Bettinens doch zu weit gegangen. Hermann Grimm, der Schwiegersohn Bettinens, dem ein Theil des Goethe'schen Briefwechsels mit ihr handschriftlich zu Gebote stand, hat das Verdienst, dies in einem geistvollen Aufsatz in den *Preussischen Jahrbüchern* (Bd. 30, S. 591–603) nachgewiesen zu haben, wenn er auch dort die romanhafte Darstel-

¹*Minchen Herlieb* von August Hesse (*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, herausgegeben von Rud. Virchow und Fr. von Holtzendorff, Heft 297), Berlin, 1878.

lung Adolf Stahrs über Goethes Liebesverhältniss zu Minna Herzlieb noch einigermaßen in Schutz nimmt, welches aber noch der Kritik, die der erneuten, von Gaedertz herrührenden Darstellung desselben durch Pniower in einer unserer angesehensten germanistischen Zeitschriften zu Theil geworden ist,¹ vollends in sich selbst zerfällt.

Nach den jetzt wohl, so weit wie es überhaupt zu erwarten ist, aufgedeckten Beziehungen der beteiligten Personen zu einander dürfen wir hinsichtlich der inneren und äusseren Anlässe zu Goethes Liebessonetten, wenn auch manche Einzelheiten und intimeren Beziehungen wohl immer in Dunkel gehüllt bleiben werden, folgende Punkte als im Wesentlichen den Thatsachen entsprechend ansehen.

Dass Minna Herzlieb, die schöne, damals achtzehnjährige, von allen Freunden des Frommann'schen Hauses gefeierte Pflgetochter desselben, dem Herzen des Dichters im Winter 1807/1808, vermuthlich aber schon früher, nahe stand, ist sicher. Er selbst äusserte sich darüber in einem vom 15^{ten} Januar 1813 datierten Briefe an Zelter, der ihm den damaligen Verlobten der Minna Herzlieb empfohlen hatte: "Seine Braut fing ich als Kind von acht Jahren an zu lieben und in ihrem sechszehnten liebte ich sie mehr wie billig."² Sicher ist, dass er das Wesen der Minna Herzlieb in der Ottilie seiner *Wahlverwandtschaften* verkörpert hat, ebenso wie Bettina Brentano ihm als Modell diente für Charlottens Tochter Luciane in diesem Roman. Keineswegs aber sind die Situationen und Herzenserlebnisse, die in demselben dargestellt werden, als auf ähnlichen Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Goethe und Minna Herzlieb beruhend anzusehen. Denn es darf jetzt als erwiesen

¹ *Goethes Minchen. Auf Grund ungedruckter Briefe geschildert* von Karl Theodor Gaedertz. Bremen, Müller, 1887; recensiert von Otto Pniower in der *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Bd. 32, Anzeiger, S. 130–140.

² Gaedertz bemerkt dazu (S. 109, Anm.): "Goethe irrt sich; es muss heissen: als Kind von neun Jahren . . . und: in ihrem achtzehnten." Weshalb denn? Gerade die Angabe "in ihrem sechszehnten Jahre" wirft ein eigenthümliches Streiflicht auf die *Wahlverwandtschaften* und wird bestätigt durch Sonett 16 (*Epoche*), v. 5–8.

angesehen werden, dass dies empfindsame Mädchen, dessen Herz eben damals von einer hoffnungslosen Liebe zu einem jungen livländischen Adligen erfüllt war,¹ zu dem "alten lieben theueren Herrn," wie sie Goethe nannte, nie ein anderes Gefühl als das inniger Verehrung gekannt hat. Aus dem Inhalt der Sonette auf eine Leidenschaft zu schliessen, von der der Dichter und das junge Mädchen zu einander ergriffen gewesen sein sollen, heisst das von dem Tone der Petrarca'schen Liebessonette beeinflusste Wesen und die Entstehungsart dieser Gedichte völlig verkennen. Goethe wurde, wie bereits erwähnt, durch die in den abendlichen Cirkeln des Frommann'schen Hauses im Monate November von Zacharias Werner und Anderen vorgelesenen Sonette angeregt, sich auch in dieser Dichtungsart wieder zu versuchen, der er aber nun, entgegen den philosophischen und didaktischen Sonetten Schlegels, nach dem Vorbilde Petrarcas einen mehr lyrischen, erotischen Inhalt, zugleich aber auch mehr Leben, Interesse und Handlung zu geben trachtete. Indess erst gegen Ende November trat er mit einigen Sonetten hervor, und da ist es nun bezeichnend für Minna Herzlieb's Stellung zu denselben, dass gerade das erste von Goethe gedichtete (vgl. Pniower, a. a. O. S. 136), welches in der ganzen Serie jetzt als das vierte steht und die Überschrift hat "Das Mädchen spricht," sicherlich nicht auf ihren Einfluss, sondern auf ein Erlebniss des Dichters mit Bettinen, ähnlich wie es dort geschildert wird, zurückzuführen ist. Wie wir aus den Mittheilungen Riemers wissen, war Bettina kurz vor Goethes am 11^{ten} November 1807 erfolgter Abreise nach Jena zehn Tage in Weimar gewesen und stand überhaupt zu jener Zeit mit Goethe in lebhaftem Verkehr, so dass Hermann Grimm wohl Recht hat, wenn er bemerkt: "Seine Sonette können sich jener Zeit zwischen beiden Mädchen getheilt, ihnen beiden gehört haben, wie seine Zuneigung." Wir erinnern uns, dass er ja auch beider Wesen in den *Wahlverwandschaften* verkörpert hat.

¹ vgl. Guedertz, a. a. O. S. 10 ff.

Das hier in Frage kommende Sonett hat folgenden Wortlaut :

4. DAS MÄDCHEN SPRICHT.

Du siehst so ernst, Geliebter ! Deinem Bilde
 Von Marmor hier möcht' ich dich wohl vergleichen ;
 Wie dieses giebst du mir kein Lebenszeichen ;
 Mit dir verglichen zeigt der Stein sich milde.
 Der Feind verbirgt sich hinter seinem Schilde,
 Der Freund soll offen seine Stirn uns reichen.
 Ich suche dich, du suchst mir zu entweichen ;
 Doch halte Stand wie dieses Kunstgebilde.
 An wen von beiden soll ich nun mich wenden ?
 Sollt' ich von beiden Kälte leiden müssen,
 Da dieser todt und du lebendig heissest ?
 Kurz, um der Worte mehr nicht zu verschwenden,
 So will ich diesen Stein so lange küssen,
 Bis eifersüchtig du mich ihm entreissest.

Es ist mit Recht von G. von Loeper bemerkt worden, dass sich schwerlich damals weder in dem Frommann'schen Hause, noch sonst wo in Jena eine Büste Goethes befand, und dass somit Bettinas Erzählung (*Tagebuch*, S. 534), der Dichter habe in dem Sonett einen mit ihr in der Weimarer Bibliothek erlebten Vorfall zur Darstellung gebracht, vermuthlich richtig ist.

Überhaupt wird man der Ansicht Hermann Grimms zustimmen können, dass einige der neun Sonette, die sich in Bettinens Buch finden, ihr thatsächlich von Goethe geschickt worden sind, andere auf von ihr in Gesprächen, Begegnungen oder sonstigen Beziehungen ihm gegebene Anregungen zurückgehen.

Zu der ersteren Gruppe gehört gleich das erste, *Mächtiges Überraschen* betitelt, wovon die durch Bettina mitgetheilte Version die ältere ist, und wovon H. Grimm selbst das von Goethes Hand geschriebene Blatt unter ihren Manuscripten gesehen hat. Gleichwohl ist es ebenso wahrscheinlich oder vielleicht wahrscheinlicher, dass sich in diesem schönen Sonett welches, wie G. von Loeper bemerkt, "in einem durchgeführten Vergleich das durch die Liebesempfindung überraschte

Gemüth des Dichters schildert," dessen Gefühle für Minna Herzlieb widerspiegeln, als diejenigen für Bettine Brentano.

1. MÄCHTIGES ÜBERRASCHEN.

Ein Strom entrauscht umwölktem Felsensaale,
 Dem Ozean sich eilig zu verbinden;
 Was auch sich spiegeln mag von Grund zu Gründen,
 Er wandelt unaufhaltsam fort zu Thale.
 Dämonisch aber stürzt mit einem Male—
 Ihr folgten Berg und Wald in Wirbelwinden—
 Sich Oreas, Behagen dort zu finden,
 Und hemmt den Lauf, begrenzt die weite Schale.
 Die Welle sprüht und staunt zurück und weicht
 Und schwillt bergan, sich immer selbst zu trinken;
 Gehemmt ist nun zum Vater hin das Streben.
 Sie schwankt und ruht, zum See zurückgedeicht;
 Gestirne, spiegelnd sich, beschaun das Blinken
 Des Wellenschlags am Fels, ein neues Leben.

Gleichzeitig mit diesem Sonett will Bettina mit einem Briefe Goethes, datiert vom 7^{ten} Aug. 1807, ein anderes empfangen haben, welches sich nun als siebentes in der Sammlung befindet und den Titel *Abschied* führt. Dies scheint in der That viel eher den Beziehungen des Dichters zu ihr, als denjenigen zu Minna Herzlieb zu entstammen und mehr aus der überschwänglichen Stimmung Bettinas selber erwachsen zu sein, als aus derjenigen Goethes.

7. ABSCHIED.

War unersättlich nach viel tausend Küssen
 Und musst' mit *einem* Kuss am Ende scheiden.
 Nach herber Trennung tief empfundenen Leiden
 War mir das Ufer, dem ich mich entrissen,
 Mit Wohnungen, mit Bergen, Hügeln, Flüssen,
 So lang' ich's deutlich sah, ein Schatz der Freuden;
 Zuletzt im Blauen blieb ein Augenweiden
 An fernentwichnen lichten Finsternissen.
 Und endlich, als das Meer den Blick umgrenzte,
 Fiel mir zurück ins Herz mein heiss Verlangen;
 Ich suchte mein Verlornes gar verdrossen.

Da war es gleich, als ob der Himmel glänzte;
 Mir schien, als wäre nichts mir, nichts entgangen,
 Als hätt' ich alles was ich je genossen.

Unbedenklich sind ferner wohl das achte Sonett (*Die Liebende schreibt*), das neunte (*Die Liebende abermals*) und das zehnte (*Sie kann nicht enden*) aus den Beziehungen Goethes zu Bettina abzuleiten, jedoch natürlich nicht aus ihren nachträglichen prosaischen "Aufdröselungen" der betreffenden Sonette in ihrem halbimaginären Briefwechsel mit Goethe. Von ihr wissen wir aber wenigstens, dass sie thatsächlich Briefe mit Goethe gewechselt und ihn mit ihrem glühenden poetischen Liebeswerben verfolgt hat, ja einzelne Wendungen aus ihrem ersten, urkundlich vorhandenen, am 15. Juni 1807 an Goethe geschriebenen Briefe klingen in dem neunten und zehnten Sonett deutlich wieder (vgl. *Goethes Werke*, von G. von Loeper, II, S. 295/6), während bei Minna Herzlieb alle Nachrichten dagegen sprechen, sowohl dass sie mit Goethe correspondiert, als auch namentlich, dass sie ihm eine leidenschaftliche Neigung gewidmet habe.

Von diesen Sonetten scheint uns namentlich das neunte aus der Wiedergabe echt Bettina'scher Stimmung Goethe gegenüber hervorgegangen zu sein. Doch auch die beiden anderen mögen hier mitgetheilt werden.

8. DIE LIEBENDE SCHREIBT.

Ein Blick von deinen Augen in die meinen,
 Ein Kuss von deinem Mund auf meinem Munde,
 Wer davon hat, wie ich, gewisse Kunde,
 Mag dem was andres wohl erfreulich scheinen?
 Entfernt von dir, entfremdet von den Meinen,
 Führ' ich stets die Gedanken in die Runde,
 Und immer treffen sie auf jene Stunde,
 Die einzige; da fang' ich an zu weinen.
 Die Thräne trocknet wieder unversehens;
 Er liebt ja, denk' ich, her in diese Stille,
 Und solltest du nicht in die Ferne reichen?
 Vernimm das Lispeln dieses Liebeswehens!
 Mein einzig Glück auf Erden ist dein Wille,
 Dein freundlicher zu mir; gieb mir ein Zeichen!

9. DIE LIEBENDE ABERMALS.

Warum ich wieder zum Papier mich wende?
 Das mußt du, Liebster, so bestimmt nicht fragen,
 Denn eigentlich hab' ich dir nichts zu sagen;
 Doch kommt's zuletzt in deine lieben Hände.
 Weil ich nicht kommen kann, soll, was ich sende,
 Mein ungetheiltes Herz hinübertragen
 Mit Wonnen, Hoffnungen, Entzücken, Plagen:
 Das alles hat nicht Anfang, hat nicht Ende.
 Ich mag vom heut'gen Tag dir nichts vertrauen;
 Wie sich im Sinnen, Wünschen, Wähnen, Wollen
 Mein treues Herz zu dir hinüber wendet:
 So stand ich einst vor dir, dich anzuschauen,
 Und sagte nichts. Was hätt' ich sagen sollen?
 Mein ganzes Wesen war in sich vollendet.

10. SIE KANN NICHT ENDEN.

Wenn ich nun gleich das weisse Blatt dir schickte,
 Anstatt dass ich's mit Lettern erst beschreibe,
 Ausfülltest du's vielleicht zum Zeitvertreibe
 Und sendetest's an mich, die Hochbeglückte.
 Wenn ich den blauen Umschlag dann erblickte,
 Neugierig schnell, wie es geziemt dem Weibe,
 Riss ich ihn auf, dass nichts verborgen bleibe;
 Da läs' ich was mich mündlich sonst entzückte:
 Lieb Kind! Mein artig Herz! Mein einzig Wesen!
 Wie du so freundlich meine Sehnsucht stilltest
 Mit süßem Wort und mich so ganz verwöhntest.
 Sogar dein Lispeln glaubt' ich auch zu lesen,
 Womit du liebend meine Seele fülltest
 Und mich auf ewig vor mir selbst verschöntest.

Damit sind aber auch wohl diejenigen Sonette unter den von Bettina in "Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde" mitgetheilten erschöpft, welche auf ihre Einwirkung zurückzuführen sind. Von den sonstigen Goethe'schen Sonetten, die darin noch enthalten sind, ist das erste dasjenige, welches sie mittheilt unter dem Titel: *Sonett, im Brief an Goethes Mutter beigelegt*. Dieser Brief ist datiert vom 4. Mai 1808, aber in

dem echten Goethe'schen Briefe,¹ der uns erhalten ist, wird ein demselben beigeschlossenes Sonett nicht erwähnt. Dies Sonett ist das fünfte in der Sammlung und hat dort den Titel *Wachsthum*. Es ist das einzige, welches sich in Minna Herzlieds Nachlass, und zwar in Goethes eigener Handschrift mit der Unterschrift "den 13. Dec. 1807, Mitternacht,"—obwohl sie noch 1857 Loeper gegenüber leugnete, Sonette von Goethe erhalten zu haben,—vorgefunden, und von dem sie selbst dem nämlichen Goethe-Forscher gegenüber erklärt hat, es drücke ihr Verhältniss zu Goethe aus,—so sei sie mit ihm als Kind in Jena spazieren gegangen. Es lautet folgendermassen :

5. WACHSTHUM.

Als kleines art'ges Kind nach Feld und Auen
Sprangst du mit mir so manchen Frühlingsmorgen.
"Für solch ein Töchterchen, mit holden Sorgen,
Möcht' ich als Vater segnend Häuser bauen!"
Und als du anfingst, in die Welt zu schauen,
War deine Freude häusliches Besorgen.
"Solch eine Schwester! und ich wär' geboren:
Wie könnt ich ihr, ach! wie sie mir vertrauen!"
Nun kann den schönen Wachsthum nichts beschränken;
Ich fühl' im Herzen heisses Liebestoben.
Umfass' ich sie, die Schmerzen zu beschwicht'gen?
Doch, ach! nun muss ich dich als Fürstin denken:
Du stehst so schroff vor mir emporgehoben;
Ich beuge mich vor deinem Blick, dem flücht'gen.

In diesem schönen Sonett werden die Wandlungen der Gefühle des Dichters im Laufe der Jahre gegenüber dem Kinde, dem heranwachsenden Mädchen und der in schönster Jugendblüthe prangenden Jungfrau, zugleich aber auch ihr eigenartiges Wesen selber in anziehendster Weise geschildert. Gar seltsam berührt es, dass verschiedene Ausleger dieses Gedichts aus dem letzten Terzett, beginnend mit dem Verse :

Doch, ach! nun muss ich dich als Fürstin denken,

¹ vgl. *Briefe Goethes an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*, herausgegeben von G. von Loeper, Berlin, 1879, S. 170/1.

gefolgert haben, es sei von Goethe an die Prinzessin Karoline von Weimar gerichtet, die er gleichfalls unter seinen Augen hatte herauwachsen sehen, aber auf diese würden die elf vorangehenden Verse des Sonetts doch ganz und gar nicht bezogen werden können, während der Schluss sich ja nur figürlich auf die "weibliche Hoheit, jungfräuliche Herbigkeit und Unnahbarkeit der Minna Herzlieb" (Loeper) bezieht und gerade diese von verschiedenen Seiten uns verbürgte Eigenthümlichkeit ihres Wesens vortrefflich charakterisiert. Auf Bettina würde es am allerwenigsten passen; auch hat sie wohl kaum im Ernste Anspruch darauf erhoben, obwohl sie Goethe in dem betreffenden Briefe sagen lässt: "Gestern schickte ich meiner Mutter ein kleines Blättchen für Dich; nimm's als ein baares Äquivalent für das, was ich anders auszusprechen in mir kein Talent fühle; sehe zu wie Du Dirs aneignen kannst."

Ausserdem findet sich nur noch das letzte der siebzehn Liebessonette, *Charade* betitelt, von Bettina in dem Briefwechsel mitgetheilt als ihr von ihm gesandt mit dem angeblichen Zusatz: "an dem magst Du Dich zufrieden rathen." In dem letzten Briefe des ersten Bandes ihres Briefwechsels lesen wir, wie sie sich vergebens abmüht, die Lösung zu finden. Begreiflich genug! Denn diese war das Wort "Herzlieb," welchen Namen übrigens auch Zacharias Werner, Riemer, Gries, jeder in einem Sonett, gefeiert haben. Das Goethe'sche ist besonders anmuthig.

17. CHARADE.

Zwei Worte sind es, kurz, bequem zu sagen,
 Die wir so oft mit holder Freude nennen,
 Doch keineswegs die Dinge deutlich kennen,
 Wovon sie eigentlich den Stempel tragen.
 Es thut gar wohl in jung- und alten Tagen,
 Eins an dem andern kecklich zu verbrennen;
 Und kann man sie vereint zusammen nennen,
 So drückt man aus ein seliges Behagen,
 Nun aber such' ich ihnen zu gefallen
 Und bitte, mit sich selbst mich zu beglücken;
 Ich hoffe still, doch hoff' ich's zu erlangen:

Als Namen der Geliebten sie zu lallen,
In *einem* Bild sie beide zu erblicken,
In *einem* Wesen beide zu umfassen.

Ebenso wenig, wie dieses Sonett, ist das sechzehnte der Sammlung, *Epoche* betitelt, zu Bettinen in irgend welche Beziehung zu setzen, obwohl es ihrem "Briefwechsel mit Goethe" in der Ausgabe von 1835 als Motto voransteht, während es in der Ausgabe Hermann Grimms vom Jahre 1881 fortgelassen ist. Das Sonett ist ebenfalls erwiesenermaßen an Minna Herzlieb gerichtet. Anknüpfend an Petrarca, der seine Liebe zu Laura von Charfreitag 1327 an datierte, preist Goethe den Adventssonntag des Jahres 1807, an welchem Tage er, wie wir von Knebel wissen, Mittags bei Frommanns und also dem geliebten Mädchen nahe war, welches er bei seinem damaligen Besuch in Jena an dem Tage vielleicht zum ersten Male wiedersah oder das ihm bei der Gelegenheit vielleicht weniger unnahbar als früher erschien.

16. EPOCHE.

Mit Flammenschrift war innigst eingeschrieben
Petrarka's Brust vor allen andern Tagen
Karfreitag. Ebenso, ich darf's wohl sagen,
Ist mir Advent von Achtzehnhundertsieben.
Ich fing nicht an, ich fuhr nur fort zu lieben
Sie, die ich früh im Herzen schon getragen,
Dann wieder weislich aus dem Sinn geschlagen,
Der ich nun wieder bin ans Herz getrieben.
Petrarka's Liebe, die unendlich hohe,
War leider unbelohnt und gar zu traurig,
Ein Herzensweh, ein ewiger Karfreitag;
Doch stets erscheine fort und fort die frohe,
Süss, unter Palmenjubil, wonneschaurig,
Der Herrin Ankunft mir, ein ew'ger Maitag.

Von den noch übrigen Gedichten der siebzehn Goethe'schen Liebessonette ist keines in dem Buche Bettinens enthalten, und wir dürfen wohl schon daraus schliessen, dass sie nicht zu ihr in Beziehung stehen, sondern zu ihrer Jenenser Rivalin.

Am wenigsten leicht fällt es uns, mit dem zweiten, *Freundliches Beegnen* betitelt, deren Persönlichkeit in Zusammenhang zu bringen.

2. FREUNDLICHES BEEGNEN.

Im weiten Mantel bis ans Kinn verhüllet,
 Ging ich den Felsenweg, den schroffen, grauen,
 Hernieder dann zu winterhaften Auen,
 Unruh'gen Sinns, zur nahen Flucht gewillet.
 Auf einmal schien der neue Tag enthüllet:
 Ein Mädchen kam, ein Himmel anzuschauen,
 So musterhaft wie jene lieben Frauen
 Der Dichterwelt. Mein Sehnen war gestillet.
 Doch wandt' ich mich hinweg und liess sie gehen
 Und wickelte mich enger in die Falten,
 Als wollt' ich trutzend in mir selbst erwarmen;
 Und folgt' ihr doch. Sie stand. Da war's geschehen!
 In meiner Hülle konnt' ich mich nicht halten,
 Die warf ich weg, sie lag in meinen Armen.

Die Scenerie, die hier vorgeführt wird, der Felsenweg, die winterliche Landschaft, passt auf die Umgebung von Jena und den Monat December, in welchem dies Sonett dort entstanden sein wird. Auch das Ankämpfen des Dichters gegen seine Neigung, der Hinweis auf die nahe Flucht zurück nach Weimar entspricht der Situation und seinen Beziehungen zu Minna Herzlieb. Nur das letzte Terzett macht Schwierigkeiten. Das würde, wenn wörtlich genommen, eine wechselseitige, von beiden vergeblich bekämpfte Neigung voraussetzen, die bei einer zufälligen Begegnung zu der von dem Dichter geschilderten leidenschaftlichen Umarmung geführt hätte.

Aber wir haben schon bei dem Verse des fünften Sonetts,

Doch, ach! nun muss ich dich als Fürstin denken,

gesehen, zu welchen unhaltbaren Auslegungen es oft führt, wenn man ein Dichterwort in wörtlichem Sinn nimmt. Goethe selbst hat in Bezug auf die *Wahlverwandschaften* in seinen Gesprächen mit Eckermann gesagt: "Es ist darin kein Strich enthalten, der nicht erlebt, aber kein Strich so,

wie er erlebt." Das gilt unzweifelhaft auch für die Sonette. Und Minna Herzlieb wiederholte oft, wie Hermann Grimm berichtet, ihrer Freundin Alwina Frommann gegenüber, "wenn man ihr davon sprach, dass Gedichte Goethes an sie gerichtet gewesen seien: "Es mischen sich da wohl viele Bilder." Diese beiden Aussprüche geben uns den Schlüssel, wie zur Erklärung der meisten anderen, so auch dieses Sonetts. Es wäre z. B. sehr wohl möglich, dass der Dichter hier eine ähnliche Begegnung mit Minna Herzlieb aus früheren Jahren, als sie ihm noch als harmloses Kind entgegensprang, in seiner Phantasie auf diese spätere, anders geartete Epoche seiner Gefühle und Beziehungen zu ihr übertragen habe. Jedenfalls ist es unstatthaft, nach den Ergebnissen der neueren Untersuchungen, dies Sonett als einen Beweis für ein wirkliches Liebesverhältniss, welches, wie man früher meinte, zwischen Goethe und Minna Herzlieb bestanden habe, heranzuziehen.

Ganz auf dem wirklichen Verhältniss des Dichters zu dem gefeierten Mädchen beruht dagegen das dritte, *Kurz und gut* betitelte Sonett, eines der anmuthigsten von allen, welches uns zugleich in weit geistvollerer Weise, als das früher citierte Menke'sche Sonett, die Entstehung eines solchen Gedichts vorführt.

3. KURZ UND GUT.

Sollt' ich mich denn so ganz an sie gewöhnen?
 Das wäre mir zuletzt doch reine Plage.
 Darum versuch' ich's gleich am heut'gen Tage
 Und nahe nicht dem vielgeliebten Schönen.
 Wie aber mag ich dich, mein Herz, versöhnen,
 Dass ich im wicht'gen Fall dich nicht befrage?
 Wohlan! komm her! Wir äussern uns're Klage
 In liebevollen, traurig heitern Tönen.
 Siehst du, es geht! Des Dichters Wink gewärtig
 Melodisch klingt die durchgespielte Leier,
 Ein Liebesopfer traulich darzubringen,
 Du denkst es kaum und sieh, das Lied ist fertig!
 Allein was nun?—Ich dächt', im ersten Feuer
 Wir eilten hin, es vor ihr selbst zu singen.

Das sechste Sonett, *Reisezehrung* betitelt, schildert die Gefühle des Dichters bei seiner bevorstehenden Abreise und Trennung von der Geliebten. Es scheint von dem Petrarca'schen Reisesonett *Io mi rivolgo indietro* beeinflusst zu sein und ist wohl das am wenigsten persönliche von allen.

6. REISEZEHRUNG.

Entwöhnen sollt' ich mich vom Glanz der Blicke,
 Mein Leben sollten sie nicht mehr verschönen.
 Was man Geschick nennt, lässt sich nicht versöhnen;
 Ich weiss es wohl und trat bestürzt zurücke.
 Nun wusst' ich auch von keinem weitem Glücke;
 Gleich fing ich an von diesen und von jenen
 Nothwend'gen Dingen sonst mich zu entwöhnen:
 Nothwendig schien mir nichts als ihre Blicke.
 Des Weines Gluth, den Vielgenuss der Speisen,
 Bequemlichkeit und Schlaf und sonst'ge Gaben,
 Gesellschaft wies ich weg, dass wenig bliebe.
 So kann ich ruhig durch die Welt nun reisen:
 Was ich bedarf, ist überall zu haben,
 Und Unentbehrlich's bring' ich mit—die Liebe.

Das siebente (*Abschied*), achte (*Die Liebende schreibt*), neunte (*Die Liebende abermals*) und zehnte (*Sie kann nicht enden*) sind bereits als auf Bettina'sche Anregungen zurückgehend—wie vielleicht auch das erste (*Mächtiges Überraschen*)—erwähnt worden, und auch das elfte (*Nemesis*), in welchem der Dichter seine jedenfalls auf die Jenaer Zeit sich beziehende Sonetenwuth und Raserei der "Liebe" ironisiert, wurde schon besprochen.

Das zwölfte (*Christgeschenk*) wird allgemein als an Minna Herzlieb gerichtet anerkannt. Es wurde ihr am 24. Dec. 1807 von Weimar aus mit einer für die Frommann'schen Kinder bestimmten Schachtel voll Süssigkeiten übersandt.

12. CHRISTGESCHENK.

Mein süßes Liebchen! Hier in Schachtelwänden
 Gar mannichfalt geformte Süssigkeiten.
 Die Früchte sind es heil'ger Weihnachtszeiten,
 Gebackne nur, den Kindern auszuspenden!

Dir möcht' ich dann mit süßem Redewenden
 Poetisch Zuckerbrod zum Fest bereiten;
 Allein was soll's mit solchen Eitelkeiten?
 Weg den Versuch, mit Schmeichelei zu blenden!
 Doch giebt es noch ein Süßes, das vom Innern
 Zum Innern spricht, genießbar in der Ferne,
 Das kann nur bis zu dir hinüber wehen.
 Und fühlst du dann ein freundliches Erinnern,
 Als blinkten froh dir wohlbekannte Sterne,
 Wirst du die kleine Gabe nicht verschmähen.

Dies Sonett ist also ein Gelegenheitsgedicht, bei dem man aber aus der dichterisch freien Anrede "Mein süßes Liebchen," womit es beginnt, wiederum nicht etwa den Schluss ziehen darf, dass sie ihm das Recht gegeben habe, sie so zu bezeichnen.

Wie wenig dies der Fall war, geht aufs deutlichste hervor aus dem dreizehnten Sonett, betitelt *Warnung*.

13. WARNUNG.

Am jüngsten Tag, wenn die Posaunen schallen
 Und alles aus ist mit dem Erdenleben,
 Sind wir verpflichtet, Rechenschaft zu geben
 Von jedem Wort, das unnütz uns entfallen.
 Wie wird's nun werden mit den Worten allen,
 In welchen ich so liebevoll mein Streben
 Um deine Gunst dir an den Tag gegeben,
 Wenn diese bloss an deinem Ohr verhallen?
 Darum bedenk', o Liebchen! dein Gewissen,
 Bedenk' im Ernst, wie lange du gezaudert,
 Dass nicht der Welt solch Leiden widerfahre.
 Werd' ich berechnen und entschuld'gen müssen
 Was alles unnütz ich vor dir geplaudert,
 So wird der jüngste Tag zum vollen Jahre.

Wir sehen also, es waren im wesentlichen nur poetische, von dem künstlerischen Interesse Goethes für die Sonettendichtung und seinem Wohlgefallen an der schönen Pflögetochter des Frommann'schen Hauses ihm eingegebene Huldigungen, die in diesen auf sie sich beziehenden Gedichten zum Ausdruck gelangten.

Dass daran nicht zu zweifeln ist, bezeugen noch weiter das vierzehnte und fünfzehnte Sonett, in denen die in dem Jenaer Kreise wohl öfters aufgeworfene Frage, ob sich denn diese künstliche Dichtungsart zum Ausdruck wahrer Liebesleidenschaft eigne, behandelt wird.

Im vierzehnten Sonett sind es die Liebenden, die gegenüber den an der Eignung des Sonetts zum Ausdruck der Liebe Zweifelnden dasselbe vertheidigen :

14. DIE ZWEIFELNDEN.

Ihr liebt, und schreibt Sonette! Weh der Grille!
 Die Kraft des Herzens, sich zu offenbaren,
 Soll Reime suchen, sie zusammenpaaren;
 Ihr Kinder, glaubt, ohnmächtig bleibt der Wille.
 Ganz ungebunden spricht des Herzens Fülle
 Sich kaum noch aus: sie mag sich gern bewahren,
 Dann Stürmen gleich durch alle Saiten fahren,
 Dann wieder senken sich zu Nacht und Stille.
 Was quält ihr euch und uns, auf jähem Stege
 Nur Schritt vor Schritt den läst'gen Stein zu wälzen,
 Der rückwärts lastet, immer neu zu mühen?

Die Liebenden.

Im Gegentheil, wir sind auf rechtem Wege!
 Das Allerstarrste freudig aufzuschmelzen,
 Muss Liebesfeuer allgewaltig glühen.

In dem fünfzehnten Sonett ist das Mädchen die Zweiflerin, und wir dürfen wohl annehmen, die noch von der Wunde ihrer unglücklichen Jugendliebe nicht geheilte Minna Herzlieb selber, die sich gelegentlich mit einigen Bemerkungen an jenen Gesprächen betheiligte haben mag, während der Dichter für das Sonett und damit zugleich für die Wärme der darin zum Ausdruck gebrachten Empfindungen eintritt.

15. MÄDCHEN.

Ich zweifle doch am Ernst verschränkter Zeilen!
 Zwar lausch' ich gern bei deinen Silbespielen;
 Allein mir scheint, was Herzen redlich fühlen,
 Mein süsßer Freund, das soll man nicht befeilen.

Der Dichter pflegt, um nicht zu langeweilen,
Sein Innerstes von Grund aus umzuwühlen;
Doch seine Wunden weiss er auszukühlen,
Mit Zauberwort die tiefsten auszuheilen.

Dichter.

Schau, Liebchen, hin! Wie geht's dem Feuerwerker?
Drauf ausgelernet', wie man nach Massen wettert,
Irrgänglich-klug minirt er seine Gräfte;
Allein die Macht des Elements ist stärker,
Und eh' er sich's versieht, geht er zerschmettert
Mit allen seinen Künsten in die Lüfte.

Die beiden letzten Sonette der Sammlung, das sechzehnte (*Epoche*) und das siebzehnte (*Charade*), sind ebenfalls schon als sicher auf Minna Herzlieb bezüglich, obwohl von Bettina in ihren angeblichen Briefwechsel mit Goethe eingeflochten, besprochen worden.

Wenn wir die beiden Sonettengruppen, wie wir sie hier von einander zu sondern versucht haben, die fünf oder sechs von Bettina inspirierten, nämlich das vierte (*Das Mädchen spricht*), das siebente (*Abschied*), das achte (*Die Liebende schreibt*), das neunte (*Die Liebende abermals*), das zehnte (*Sie kann nicht enden*), dazu vielleicht noch das erste (*Mächtiges Überraschen*), und die übrigen, von Minna Herzlieb angeregten, mit einander vergleichen, so spiegelt sich in den ersteren unverkennbar die leidenschaftliche, impulsive Natur der Verfasserin des Briefwechsels und der Goethe'schen Luciane der Wahlverwandtschaften, in den letzteren, von dem zweiten (*Freundliches Begegnen*) abgesehen, das ruhige, unaufdringliche, zurückhaltende Wesen der Frommann'schen Pflgetochter und der Goethe'schen Ottilie wieder. Auch durch diese allgemeine Charakteristik der beiden Sonettengruppen werden die Beziehungen, in denen sie zu den beiden jungen Freundinnen des Dichters stehen, gestützt.

Wenn Goethe sie später zu einem Cyclus vereinigte, so geschah dies gewiss nur mit Rücksicht auf ihre innere Ver-

wandtschaft hinsichtlich des Stoffs und ihre gemeinsame Angehörigkeit an eine für ihn bedeutsame Epoche seines Lebens und seiner dichterischen Thätigkeit: die Entstehungszeit der *Wahlverwandtschaften*. Dadurch, dass das Sonett *Mächtiges Überraschen* den Anfang und die *Charade* den Schluss bildet, sind diese Gedichte noch enger zu einem zusammengehörigen Ganzen verbunden worden, welches scheinbar mit Bestimmtheit auf Minna Herzlieb hinweist. Dass die Sonette aber nicht auf sie allein bezogen werden können, wie dies noch Kuno Fischer in seiner jüngst erschienenen Schrift *Goethes Sonettenkranz* (Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1896) thut, und dass auch die durch sie angeregten nur in dichterischer Ausführung als auf sie bezüglich angesehen werden können, ist durch diese Betrachtungen hoffentlich klar geworden.

Suchen wir aus den Sonetten mit Kuno Fischer eine wenn auch nur von dem Dichter poetisch erlebte Liebesgeschichte herauszulesen und die Gruppe 1–5 etwa als die glücklich vereinten Liebenden, 6–10 als die getrennten Liebenden, 11–15 als die über ihre Liebe reflectierenden Liebenden und die beiden letzten Sonette als die Schlussglieder des Kranzes zu deuten, so gelangen wir zu inneren und äusseren Widersprüchen. Die Sonette 4 (*Das Mädchen spricht*), ferner die erklärlicherweise zusammengestellten Sonette 7, 8, 9, 10 (Abschied und die 3 Briefe) würden hinsichtlich der Charakteristik des darin uns entgegentretenden Mädchens zu den übrigen in einem entschiedenen Gegensatz stehen, und das zweite Sonett (*Freundliches Begegnen*) würde dem fünften (*Wachsthum*) und noch mehr dem dreizehnten (*Warnung*) seinem ganzen Inhalte nach widersprechen.

Nur dann lassen sich diese Gedichte als zu einem zusammengehörigen Kranze vereinigt erklären, wenn wir sie ansehen als Stimmungsbilder, die dem Dichter aus seinem Verkehr mit den beiden so eigenartig verschiedenen, ihn lebhaft anziehenden Mädchen, Bettina Brentano und Minna Herzlieb,

erwachsen und von ihm in der künstlerischen Form des Sonetts zur Darstellung gebracht wurden.

Was den dichterischen Werth dieser Sonette betrifft, so sind sie nicht nur von einer strengen nach Petrarca's und Schlegel's Muster ausgeführten Vollendung der Form, sondern auch von einem Wohllaut der Sprache, einer Anschaulichkeit und Lebendigkeit der darin vorgeführten Situationen und Vorgänge, wie dies wohl keiner von Goethes Zeitgenossen und Nachfolgern, die mit ihm im Sonett wetteiferten, erreicht hat.

Ausser den bisher besprochenen Sonetten schrieb Goethe nur noch drei Gelegenheitssonette, nämlich 1810 eins auf den Becher der Kaiserin von Oesterreich, aus welchem sie in Karlsbad den Brunnen getrunken, 1812 eins an Herrn Abbate Bondi, 1813 eines an Ihro kaiserliche Hoheit die Frau Erb-grossherzogin von Sachsen-Weimar und Eisenach.

Diese Gelegenheitsgedichte, auf deren eingehendere Betrachtung wir verzichten können, sind dem anmuthigen, an Minna Herzlieb gerichteten Sonett *Christgeschenk* hinsichtlich der äusseren Veranlassung, wie auch in Bezug auf die geistvolle Diction und die feinausgeführte Form verwandt, kommen aber den meisten Sonetten der zuletzt betrachteten Sammlung, wie z. B. denjenigen, welche die Titel führen *Mächtiges Überraschen, Freundliches Begegnen, Kurz und gut, Wachsthum, Warnung, Das Mädchen spricht, Abschied, Die Liebende schreibt, Die Liebende abermals* oder auch dem herrlichen Sonett *Natur und Kunst* an dichterischer Bedeutung bei weitem nicht gleich. Diese sind es, an welche Platen gedacht haben wird, als er sein schönes Gedicht *Das Sonett an Goethe* dichtete, welches den Schluss dieser Betrachtung bilden möge:

DAS SONETT AN GOETHE.

Dich selbst, Gewaltger, den ich noch vor Jahren
Mein tiefes Wesen witzig sah verneinen,
Dich selbst nun zähl' ich heute zu den Meinen,
Zu denen, welche meine Gunst erfahren.

Denn wer durchdrungen ist vom innig Wahren,
Dem muss die Form sich unbewusst vereinen,
Und was dem Stümper mag gefährlich scheinen,
Das muss den Meister göttlich offenbaren.
Wem Kraft und Fülle tief im Busen keimen,
Das Wort beherrscht er mit gerechtem Stolze,
Bewegt sich leicht, wenn auch in schweren Reimen.
Er schneidet sich des Liedes flücht'ge Bolze
Gewandt und sicher, ohne je zu leimen,
Und was er fertigt, ist aus ganzem Holze.

J. SCHIPPER.

XI.—TROILUS AND CRISEYDE,

A STUDY IN CHAUCER'S METHOD OF NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION.

It has been among the results of Dr. Lounsbury's noble work on Chaucer to make the mind of the poet for us, as never for any generation before us, discoverable in his poetry. Since that work appeared, each of Chaucer's poems, read now through the light of that illumination, seems to kindle into fresh meaning in its revealed association with the mind and purpose of the writer. And from the union of all the poems into one image, there seems to come a somewhat clear revelation of the poet's range of human vision and of his method of poetry. This revelation reaches, I think, its highest point of truth in that eighth chapter which forms the crown of Dr. Lounsbury's book, the chapter on Chaucer as Literary Artist. "About Chaucer's method of work," he says, "there is nothing of that blind creative inspiration, which, acting without reflection, characterizes, or is supposed to characterize, the poets of the earliest periods. He has all the self-consciousness of the creative genius that has mastered his art" (Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, III, 324). "He knows precisely what he is aiming to accomplish." Here is, I think, the true word spoken about Chaucer's mental character, about his poetical method, and, by inference, about his rank and special place among the classical poets. For the essence of classical poetry is self-knowledge and self-restraint, the artistic calculation of proportions, and the aesthetic calculation of effects. It is my purpose, therefore, to show in the *Troilus and Criseyde*, which I take to be Chaucer's most perfect poem, the evidence of Dr. Lounsbury's summary of Chaucer's poetical character, the evidence of deliberate and careful calculation, of cool, self-conscious, almost infallible skill.

For this, luckily for us, the materials that exist, the same materials that Chaucer had in his own hands to work upon, are amply sufficient to show us the poet at his labor of composition, and even to reveal the principles on which he composes. We have that poem of Boccaccio from which he drew his characters and situations, so that we can see, at every moment, those changes of character and those changes of situation that Chaucer deemed essential to the proper conduct of his poem. We have besides the Latin work of Guido delle Colonne, from which, with subtle skill, Chaucer took or rejected what pleased him toward the fulfilment of his own design. Thus, if the final arrangement of Chaucer be studied in its careful sequences, we have the full proof of deliberate artistic calculation. We can trace the steps by which, changing the traits of his characters, modifying the reciprocal relations of his characters, shifting the scenes of action, and deepening as well as straightening the current of ethical meaning, he has reared a solid structure of imagination far more elaborate, far more poetical, than Guido or even Boccaccio could ever have conceived.

Of the noble intellectual power with which Chaucer handled and modified the material for his great poem, Mr. Courthope, in his lately published *History of English Poetry*, has formed an estimate that is singularly lucid and penetrative. He sees the final meaning of those changes of character and changes of incident by which Chaucer has so deeply changed the situation and purpose of Boccaccio. Chaucer has, for example, so developed the character of Pandar, as to make it far more probable and somewhat less odious. He has so heightened and ennobled the character of Troilus, as to make him more manly and heroic. But he has, at the same time, made Criseyde, instead of Troilus, the chief character, and made the poem an elaborate study of woman's fickleness in love. And he has so arranged all the stages of the action as to exhibit in the soul of Criseyde the conflict of ardent passion with feeble moral nature, and the ruin of human life through

lack of moral steadfastness. It is at this point that Mr. Courthope sees the truth and utters it. In thus dealing with his characters and his situations, Chaucer was "the first of modern poets to tell an extended story on a dramatic plan" (*History of English Poetry*, I, 307). Here, in this right use of the term dramatic, we have for the first time the full greatness of this poem recognized.

It is in this way that each great work of literature, like each great event of history, acquires for each generation of students a sort of special importance, a special force of instruction and of attraction, that it failed to have for earlier ages. The work remains, indeed, the same; but it has to be studied afresh in its relation to the philosophic thought and scientific method of each new time. It shows us facts, and it establishes principles, for which our ancestors had no feeling. It presents new points of view for which our forefathers were blind. For with each new wave of philosophic theory, with each new process of scientific method that passes over mankind, the scope of literary criticism changes, and the great works of literature acquire new significance and arouse new interest. Think, for example, of our criticism of the Homeric poems, of our criticism of the sacred books of the Hebrew canon, as expressive of our modern interest in the speculations of anthropology and social evolution! Think of that new shape in which almost all original works of literature come to us, when studied from the point of view of Brunetière, as stages in the transformation and evolution of literary species and of literary forms. Thus the old work is for the new age instinct with a fresh life. And, while, from this shifting of the point of view, many works that seemed to the critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries models of artistic creation become for us almost devoid of interest, there is for us, in other works that they neglected, an interest aroused that stirs us to profound admiration. It is a movement of this kind that has led Mr. Courthope to do justice to the greatness of the *Troilus and Criseyde*. In our studies of

evolution in literature, in our newly aroused perception of the facts of development in literary form, this poem of Chaucer, with its exquisite play of dramatic movement and consummate skill in dramatic construction, becomes to us, as I venture to think, the most important work of English literary art that preceded Shakspeare.

The term "dramatic" that Mr. Courthope has used in describing this poem is, therefore, just the term that expresses its essential excellence. And yet, to be taken as true, this term has to be used, not in its vulgar sense, but in its true and scientific sense. Chaucer, in this poem, is dramatic, not because he allows action to dominate or run riot in his work, but because he deduces action, with profound psychological skill, from the working of emotion. He is dramatic because he makes his characters live before us, in their feeling and their thought, by minute and delicate touches of observation, with almost perfect dramatic force. He is dramatic, because, with intense realism of effect, he has made each spoken word of each character, and each action of each character, however trivial in itself, spring as inevitable necessity, by force of the circumstances that he has invented, from the soul of the character that he has imagined. And, in the highest sense of all, Chaucer, in this poem is dramatic, because, in tracing the emotional life of his chief characters, he has led that play of passion to its final expression in definite action, because he has created a definite dramatic problem and a definite dramatic solution, and because he has bound all the parts of the action together, with unsurpassable dramatic skill, into a definite dramatic unity. And so, in this great poem, we have, as nowhere else in our literature, the evolution of literary form from narrative to drama. We have even the anticipation of principles of literary art that were for full recognition to need the ripening of the five coming centuries. In this sense, the great poem of Chaucer touches hands with the great work of our own time, both in romance and in the drama itself. There is the same conscious and deliberate subordination of action

to emotion. There is the same minute and realistic delineation both of the environment of human action and of the characters involved. There is the same psychological study of human character as revealed in the supreme moments of emotional excitement. There is the same scornful rejection of the supernatural element, and the same inevitable deduction of human action from purely human motives. And there is, in the grouping of the characters, and in the sequence of their actions, the same mastery of constructive method. Thus Chaucer's poem is not only the first example in our literature of the story developed on the dramatic plan. It is the discovery, and the brilliant application, by the poet of the fourteenth century, of the principles of literary art that form in the drama and the romance alike the special glory of the nineteenth.

It is plain, from passages in the poem itself, that Chaucer has pondered deeply on the artistic problem of emotion and action, that is, on the theory of human motives, and on the connected problem of artistic construction. The great passage of the fourth book, on free will and predestination, is, indeed, the chief artistic blemish of the poem; but it has a special interest in showing us the settled determinism of Chaucer's philosophical conception of human life. And so, in a more poetical passage, I, 415, the human being is floating solitary, without a rudder, in the boat that is driven by conflicting force of winds, always sure of being wafted away finally by the wind that is strongest. And so, in telling the story of human fate, it is for him the study of the emotion that gives interest to the study of the action. The end is to be calculated from the beginning. It is the end of the story that is the strength of the story, II, 260; and the real poet is he that calculates all in advance, and lays down, like the architect, all the details of his structure in his constructive plan. "The man that has to build a house, does not reach out to begin his work '*with rakel hand*'" (rash, unconsidered), but he is willing to wait a while, and "first of all things to send out the measuring-line of his spirit from his brain, in order

to achieve his purpose," I, 1065-1069. There is not, I think, in literature a finer image for expressing the action of the poet's constructive imagination.

In this special poem, there is evidence that Chaucer has fulfilled his own ideal of constructive art. From beginning to end, with only one exception, he banishes from his action all that is irrelevant, and excludes all that is either unnatural or supernatural. He plans his scheme with absolute symmetry of proportion. And he arranges his events in such unbroken links of cause and effect, as to lead to the full and remorseless unveiling of his characters, and to the complete and orderly solution of his dramatic problem.

For this purpose, Chaucer, I find, has arranged all the action into a sequence of fifty (50) scenes. In connecting these scenes, he makes use of link-passages that are either his own reflections on the story, or else the points of narration or description that are needful for the understanding of the purely dramatic parts. All the fifty scenes are essentially dramatic. In some, indeed, as, for example, the scene of the opening action in the temple, or the dinner-scene in the palace of Deiphobus, or the supper-scene in the palace of Pandar, with the pouring of the rainstorm that forces Criseyde to spend the night in such deadly peril, Chaucer so far indulges his imagination as to give us the loveliest pictures of the environments of action. But, in general, the mere romance of external situation is indicated very briefly, and all the force of the scene is expended upon the play of emotion, as revealed in the speeches and behavior of the acting persons. In their emotional character, these fifty scenes render almost every phase of human feeling. In many there is the exquisite tone of high comedy; so, for example, the scene in which the stiff fingers of Troilus are moved to compose his first love-letter, and the tricks by which Pandar wheedles Criseyde into receiving and answering it. And then the tone of comedy is kindled by the touch of intense feeling, and made serious by the anguish of suppressed emotion; so the great scene in

which heart-broken Criseyde, masking her own grief, entertains her lady-friends, and listens to their gossip, at what may be called a Trojan afternoon-tea. There is here an exquisite pathos of social comedy that reminds us of the best scenes of the modern stage. But in many scenes, there is the complete relinquishment of all comic effect, and the complete attainment of the most passionate emotion. The scene, for example, in which Criseyde yields herself, little by little, to the passion of Troilus, and the piteous scenes in which, under the pressure of hostile influences, she falls a prey to the artful and unscrupulous seduction of Diomedes are, in their revelation of human feeling, of the highest dramatic force. Each scene in its own place has, with one exception, its own special fitness, its own inevitable function. Each one, in its proper sequence, is firmly knit with the past and with the future of the story. And, in their incessant shifting of emotional tone, they prove the power of Chaucer to deal, in dramatic fashion, with all the range of human feeling, with all the aspects of human life.

Among these fifty scenes, it is remarkable to see that Chaucer has given to thirty-two scenes the artistic structure of the dialogue, a conversation between two persons. In this point, also, Chaucer, by his own true feeling for the dramatic movement, has anticipated the evolution of our modern drama. Only in dialogue is the full revelation of human character possible, unchecked by the presence of any third person as listening or interrupting. Only in dialogue is the full operation of the human will possible, the use of persuasion by the one person to determine the action of the other. And thus, in his large use of dialogue, Chaucer has gone as far as the most skilful modern dramatist to develop the special force of the psychological drama. And it is, above all, in the management of these thirty-two (32) dialogues that our poet has attained his highest dramatic effects. He holds back from all use of supernatural means to influence human action.¹ Only

¹ The dream of Troilus, as interpreted by Cassandra, is not in reality, I think, an instance of the supernatural.

by force of human will, by ardor of human passion, by cleverness of human contrivance or persuasion, is any character to be led, or to be driven, under the influence of some other character, to its own inevitable action. Thus, in Chaucer's masterly method, each stage of progress is attained as result of the action of mind on mind through dialogue. Pandar persuades Criseyde to accept the service of Troilus; Troilus persuades Criseyde to requite that service with her love; Criseyde persuades Troilus to give up his plan of elopement and to let her leave Troy. These thirty-two dialogues are unsurpassable in skill of dramatic movement, in play of passion, in dexterity of appeal. It is in them especially that Chaucer, by adapting the speech of each person to its own intellectual and emotional nature, has made good his claim to be reckoned among the great dramatic poets of the world.

As against these thirty-two dialogues, Chaucer has thrown nine (9) of his scenes into the form of soliloquy, or monologue. Of these nine monologues, he assigns five to Troilus and four to Criseyde. The monologue, as means of revealing character and motive, if to be used at all, is not to be wasted on inferior characters, but reserved only for the most important. In some of these monologues, the utterance of passion is carried to the highest point of lyrical force. The forty-fifth scene, for example, V, 729-765, shows us Criseyde as she sits at evening, near the Greek camp, gazing on the walls of the Trojan city, longing for the love of Troilus, and trying, with her feeble courage and wavering heart, to be brave enough to go back into his arms. It is perhaps the scene that reveals, best of all, the tenderness and the weakness of the exquisite woman. But, as the dramatic monologue is the falsest of all forms of art, so it shows itself the most dangerous. It runs in Chaucer's hands, as in the hands of so many of our modern poets, into fatal fluency and unchecked loquacity. So the worst scenes in the poem, especially the thirty-sixth scene, IV, 946, in which Troilus discusses the theory of predestination, result from inartistic abuse of the monologue.

For trio-scenes, in which a third person stands by to check the freedom of dramatic expansion, Chaucer shows a special aversion. There are only two, and they are both managed with much comic force. The group-scenes, made up of many characters, are more numerous, seven in all. They serve to mark the attainment of some definite stage of action, and to give the summary of the situation. As such scenes cannot well be used for psychological revelation of character, they are employed, with all the force of Chaucer's sensuous imagination, to give brilliant pictures of human life and picturesque scenes of nature. So, for example, the scene in the garden of Criseyde that ends with the song of the nightingale, or the scene at the dinner-party of Deiphobus, or the scene in the Trojan council of war, in which Hector pleads so nobly against the surrender of Criseyde. They are all scenes that dwell forever in our memory as realistic pictures of that world in which the poet has set his human figures to suffer and to act.

In management of scenes, the manner of Chaucer may be compared with the manner of Shakspeare.¹ There is less use of the group-scenes. There is far less use of the trio-scenes. There is the careful restriction of the monologue to the chief characters of the drama. And, above all, there is the far larger use of the dialogue, two-thirds instead of Shakspeare's one-third. In all the points, therefore, in which Chaucer's management of the dramatic scene differs from Shakspeare's, it anticipates the practice of our modern drama.

The sequence of Chaucer's fifty scenes is arranged, of course, for the purpose of introducing and revealing his characters. The persons that take part, small or large, in the action are in all fourteen, six women and eight men. Of these fourteen, there are ten that are introduced only in passing, to facilitate the movement of the action. But, even in the single scenes

¹ For example, in *Macbeth* 22 scenes are monologues in 107.

34	"	"	dialogues	"	"
19	"	"	trio-scenes	"	"
32	"	"	group-scenes	"	"

in which they show themselves, there is a force in Chaucer's manner of delineation that makes his minor characters full of interest, as exciting either sympathy or aversion. So, for example, the lightly sketched figures of Hector, of Helen, and of Cassandra. In Calkas, especially, as father of Criseyde, the sharpness of Chaucer's delineation is greatly to be admired. Chaucer sees in him the false and crafty priest, the villain that assumes a divine authority for actions of baseness and of treachery. In this picture, one feels that the poet is playing with our fashionable doctrine of heredity. The tie of nature that links Criseyde to Calkas is the same, with change of sex, that links Hamlet to Queen Gertrude. The taint of the mother's nature is on the son, the taint of the father's nature on the daughter, developing genius into depravity.

If these ten minor characters be left out of sight, the real movement of the action is carried on by only four. That is, in the long poem of more than 8,000 lines, all complete delineation of dramatic character, and all full display of dramatic passion, are concentrated on the study of only four persons. In this again there is the same anticipation by Chaucer of the method of our most modern school of dramatists and romancers. The poet's interest is less in the external actions, in the romantic adventures, in the stir and movement of his characters, than in their motives, in the evolution of their emotions, in the careful study of their minds and hearts. And so, as he diminishes the number of his characters, he is able to give to each one a more subtle interpretation; and by this powerful concentration of psychological method, he reaches in the fourteenth century that full and remorseless discovery of the secrets of character and of the springs of human action which we are prone to regard as the special achievement of our nineteenth century literature.

Of the four principal characters, Criseyde is the first to be brought before us, then Troilus, then Pandar, and at last, not before the thirty-ninth scene, Diomedes himself. By his lovely lines of grouping, Chaucer places Troilus and Diomedes before

us in full dramatic antithesis of character. As the star of Troilus sinks into tragical disaster, the star of Diomedes rises into ignoble triumph. Both men are brave, types of heroic knighthood, types that from the time of the Homeric poems, as realized in Achilles and Ulysses, have never ceased to have their charm for mankind. In Troilus we have that simple and impetuous and straightforward type of the heroic character which commands, indeed, the affectionate sympathy of mankind, but seems forever doomed, by the pathos of human things, to inevitable disaster. In Diomedes we have that crafty and deliberate and sinuous type which, while arousing distrust and dislike, wins by way of compensation, almost all the prizes of human fortune. In Chaucer's hands, the artistic opposition of these two characters, in all their modes of thinking, feeling and acting, is full of dramatic power.

Both Troilus and Diomedes are, as we have seen, in their different ways, types of heroic manhood. In contrast with both, serving by his suppleness and craftiness to make all human passion flow in the channel that he has planned, stands Chaucer's third character, Sir Pandarus. Devoid of all heroic qualities, he is type of the dexterous and wily courtier, whose pride of family and dignity of independence are lost in his devotion to his royal prince. Selfish in the main, loving ease and pleasure, skeptical of human virtue, seeing in love only the pleasure and the pastime of highbred men and women, Pandarus is, as Chaucer has drawn him, half redeemed from shame by the loyalty of his affection for Troilus, by the sweetness of his sympathetic nature, by the perfect charm of his manners, and the lively humor of his views of life. If this character has in later literature, and even by the word-use of our English language, been brought to utter degradation, that is no fault of the poet that introduced him into our English world. He is chief, I think, among all the humorous characters that Chaucer has designed; and the development of this character from the rude and coarse sketch made by Boccaccio is among the great feats of Chaucer's imagination. As there is

in life no test of friendship so severe as for a man to listen with patience and wakefulness to his friend's raptures of love, so, in a certain sense, Chaucer may be said to have given in Sir Pandarus the picture of the ideal friend.

This grouping of three men, each so sharply defined in himself, and all alike at once so individual and so universal as types of masculine character, forms, as it were, only the frame-work for Chaucer's main design, for his minute, elaborate and exquisite delineation of Criseyde. It is the woman, and not the man, that remains from the beginning to the close, the centre of the unbroken interest. Not only is she herself the chief character in twenty-three out of the fifty scenes, but even in the other twenty-seven scenes it is of her, and in exhibition of her, that the other speakers are made to speak. From scene to scene, it is Chaucer's main purpose to make us understand this woman, as he himself understands her, in all her emotional moods, from the first dawn of passion in her heart, on through the days of her happiness, into the pitiful depths of her misery and her fall. It is the delineation of Criseyde that binds all the parts of the story together into the dramatic unity of passion and of action.

In point of construction, as we have seen, all the parts of the story are developed, in perfect order, in those fifty scenes that have been described. They form, in due sequence, all the five parts of the dramatic scheme. But in regulating and proportioning these five parts, Chaucer shows once more his artistic preference for what is called the psychological drama. It is less the action that has interest for him, than the minute exhibition of those motives that lead to the action. Thus, in constructive plan, the part of the poem that deals with the character, the part that is given to the minute revelation of motive and temperament, is extended through thirty-seven scenes out of fifty. The climax is given in a single scene, and the results of the climax, developing the moral degradation of Criseyde under the influence of Diomedes's passion, is so accelerated as to be complete in only twelve scenes. That

is, in order to give fuller space for the psychological detail in the study of character, the climax-scene of the drama is pushed forward from the centre of composition to a point within one-fourth from the end.¹ In this again, it is curious to mark, that Chaucer has anticipated the evolution of the modern drama, and the modern romance. In thus lengthening the first and second stages of the drama, and in thus deferring the decisive action of the climax, Chaucer achieves his purpose by the same means as the modern leaders of the French and Scandinavian schools.

In the attainment of his climax, in order to make us understand the meaning and the significance of the dramatic situation, Chaucer expends freely all the resources of his lovely art, as well in humor as in pathos and in imaginative beauty. Troilus, by the help of Pandar, and through the sensuous feebleness of Criseyde's own nature, has attained the full possession of the woman that he loves so dearly. Marriage, indeed, according to that mediæval conception which Chaucer transfers so boldly to the Homeric ages, is impossible. The meetings of the lovers have to be secret; but in this very secrecy, in the tenderness and warmth of their romantic affection, there is for both the man and the woman an intenser joy. In this dream of the fool's paradise of love, much time passes away, neither the man nor the woman escaping so long from the rapturous present as to consider what is to be the future of their love. The story pauses midway to give, as no other romance has ever given so well, all the glow and ardor and full blessedness of triumphant love. And then, of a sudden, bursts the storm of fate. The Greeks have captured a Trojan prince, and Calkas has persuaded the Greek council of war, in payment of his treachery, to offer King Priam the exchange of this prince for his own daughter, Criseyde. To the Trojan council, this exchange, in spite of Hector's opposing voice, seemed too favorable to be declined. It was decided

¹ The climax-scene, the thirty-eighth scene, is IV, 1123-1701. It is preceded by 5,797 verses, and followed by 1,869.

that Antenor should come back to Troy, a free man to aid in its defense, and that the useless Criseyde, the traitor's daughter, should be surrendered to her father. Troilus, as prince of the royal blood, was sitting in the council, silent, in helpless misery, when the decision was reached. Criseyde had to hear it, in bitter anguish of heart, from the tittle-tattle of the gossip town. On both the lovers the blow fell with equal terror, with equal agony of mind. The grief of Criseyde was as intense and as real as the grief of Troilus. For her as for him, so far as she was conscious, the separation meant the blackening of all the future, the sum of all misery. It is in this mood of mind that Chaucer, in that exquisite thirty-eighth scene which forms the climax of the poem, brings the lovers once more together. In this great scene, the poet poses for solution the dramatic problem, and, by thus posing it, brings to supreme revelation the character of Criseyde. All the previous scenes have been so contrived as to place the lovers in this dramatic situation and to test their force of character by this awful juncture of fate. It is, with sexes reversed, almost exactly the situation and the problem of *Romeo and Juliet*, and, although such a comparison is perilous, one cannot say that Chaucer, in his broader and more humorous manner, has, in his attainment of his dramatic effect, fallen short of the intensity of Shakspeare's marvellous scene. Troilus, in his misery, is come fully to his resolve. In his heroic, simple-hearted and impetuous way of thinking, there is but one course for him to follow. For him love is more than all else. Since marriage is impossible, he will take the woman that he loves, avow his love for her, sacrifice the claims of family and ambition, run the risk of his father's wrath and his people's indignation, and escape with Criseyde to some far-off region where in poverty, and even in shame, he can show himself true to her and find all happiness in her love. His blunt and manly eloquence, as he urges his plan upon Criseyde, his passionate tears, and his prophetic shuddering back from the anguish of separation and the shame of faithlessness, are so magnificent

as to be the fullest and noblest revelation of his heroic character. But, as for Romeo, so for Criseyde, the voice of passion was too feeble, at the moment of final decision, to vanquish the movement of natural timidity, and the purely conventional respect for the world's judgment. She could not give all for love. She could not, even to save the man she loved, let her reputation perish on the tongues of the Trojan dames. There must, she urged, be no scandal, no shocking of conventionalities, no risk of shame for Troilus nor for herself. They must conceal their love and temporize with fortune. She must leave her Troilus for the present, beg him to be faithful to her (here is Chaucer's keenest point of irony), and wait in patience for the time when she could steal back to him and make him happy once more without the sacrifice of his princely position. And so, by her clever pleadings, by her amorous wiles, and by her obstinate submission to the judgment of the world, it was the temporizing plan of Criseyde that triumphed over the courage and insight of Troilus. The problem is solved, the decision reached. Troilus is to remain in Troy, and Criseyde to let herself be surrendered to her father. In all points of constructive skill, if this great scene be studied, it is the full proof of Chaucer's mastery of the dramatic method. It is, in constructive plan, the result and inevitable consequence of all the thirty-seven scenes that have preceded. It is the cause and the source of all the actions, all the shame and sorrow that are to come. In force of characterization, it is the full and complete revelation of Criseyde's character, the psychological exposition of the woman's subtle and complex nature. In ethical import, as solution of the dramatic problem, it is the triumph of worldly prudence and of conventional scruples over the ardor of passion and the glory of self-sacrifice.

From the placing of the climax-scene, all the plan of Chaucer's dramatic arrangement becomes at once visible. There is, in 266 lines, the protasis of the drama, with introduction of Troilus and Criseyde and full indication of the dramatic passion. There is then, in 5,486 lines, the fully developed

epitasis, extending from the brilliant scene in the temple, as opening of action, up to the beginning of the climax-scene itself. Next, in 619 lines, there is the scene of climax and the complete solution of the dramatic problem. As result, in 1,820 verses there is the fourth stage of action, the seduction of Criseyde by Diomedes and the death of Troilus. Last of all, as closing stage of the action, in fifty lines, there is that lovely scene in which the soul of Troilus, taken from earth into the paradise of brave and faithful warriors, looks down with scorn upon the baseness of the earthly life. All is complete. In Chaucer's words, the strength of the tale is in its ending.

"In his keen eyes a certain scorn
Dwells as indignant, that a deed so mean,
Treason so petty, woman-guile so poor,
Should ever stifle out this glorious breath."¹

THOMAS R. PRICE.

¹ Lord de Tabley, *Jael*, vv. 103-4.

XII.—THE DIALECT OF THE *HILDEBRANDSLIED*.

As Holtzmann has shown the *Hildebrandslied* as we now have it is a copy from an older manuscript. That it was not written in its present form from memory is seen in the fact that the mistakes are those of sight. For example, *Hiltibraht* occurs six times for *Hiltibrant*, *man* for *inan*, *unti* for *miti*, etc. The errors show that the writer or writers did not fully understand what they were writing, and that their copying was mechanical. It follows that the manuscript from which they wrote did not differ materially from their copy, or in other words, that the linguistic confusion was already present. This confusion, however, cannot be entirely explained unless with Kögel we assume that at an earlier time there was a copy from memory.

Several theories have been advanced to explain this mixture of dialects. Müllenhoff (*MSD*, p. ix) was of the opinion that a copyist accustomed only to High German had attempted to write down a Low German poem. Holtzmann (*Germania*, ix, 289 f.) regarded the *Hild.* as a copy made by a L.G. from a H.G. manuscript, and this manuscript he thought was probably a Bavarian copy of a Franconian Carolingian original, i. e., he saw here a mixture of three dialects. K. Meyer (*Germania*, xv, 17 f.) thinks that it is an O.S. copy of an O.H.G. original, and that this original was a pure Upper German work. That it was not written in Alemannic is shown by the entire lack of *ua* < *o* and the frequent use of *ao* < *au*. He concludes that it was written in Bavarian. Braune in the index of his *Ahd. Lesebuch* sets the *Hild.* down as "a mixed dialect: copy of an Upper German original by Saxon writers." Herm. Möller (*Zur ahd. Allitterationspoesie*, 54) declares that these theories are all wrong. According to him the *Hild.* is an E. Franc. Fuldic copy made in the second half of the ninth century from an Upper Franc. (E. or Rh. Franc.) original

belonging to the middle, or to the third quarter of the eighth century. That is, the differences we find here are not those of dialect, but simply of time.

According to Kögel (Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 174 f.) the following considerations show that the copyists could not have been Saxons. A Saxon would not have written double consonants in *hætti*, *heittu*, *mōtti*, *muotti*, *lētun*, *hūttē*, *harmtēcco*. But a High German not accustomed to the Saxon orthography would naturally fall into this error in attempting to write Saxon, since the *zz* and *hh* in his own dialect would mislead him. The Saxon also would hardly write *ao* < *au*, for this writing never occurs in O.S.; nor would he be likely to write *æ*, *ae* in *ænon*, *hætti*, *furlæt*, *raet*, for this is seldom found in O.S. representing O.H.G. *ai*, *ei*, and never occurs in the preterit of reduplicating verbs.¹ Again, the form *sudsat* in line 53 points to the H.G. scribe who had his own *sudsaz* in mind.

To the above proofs we may add others. If the last copyist had been a Saxon, he would not have omitted or miswritten *h* before *r* and *w*; for *h* was well preserved in this position in O.S. long after it had disappeared in O.H.G. But our writer drops the *h* in *wer*, *welthhes*, *werdar*, *ringā*; writes it correctly in *hrustim*, *hrusti*, *hregilo*, *hūttē*; but incorrectly in *gihueit*, *bihrahanen*, *hrāmen*. Scherer (*Zs. f. d. A.*, 26, p. 380) sees in *helidōs* : *ringā*, of line 6, the old variation between the nom. and the acc. plural. This is a variation, however, that is never seen in O.H.G., and must here be O.S. Now, if the poem had originally been H.G., a Saxon would not have changed *helidd* to *helidōs*, since nominatives plural in *-ā* also occurred.

As we have just seen, the copyist writes *tt* where the corresponding H.G. word has *zz*. But in *muotin* there is but one *t*, though *tt* should be written if it is the pret. opt. of *mōtian*. Now, as Kögel has told us, this word was foreign to O.H.G. It is quite possible that it was misunderstood by the H.G.

¹ It is equally true that it does not occur in the pret. of reduplicating verbs in O.H.G.

writer, who confused it with the pret. opt. of *muoen*, which is *muotin*. An O.H.G. form **muoztin* would never have been changed to *muotin* by one who knew how to write O.S. The single *t* of *bretôn* may also be explained by the fact that there was no corresponding H.G. word with *zz* to model the spelling after. If the H.G. scribe connected *sceotantero* with the H.G. verb, it seems to indicate that he would have written *sceozan*.

The writing of *ummet tirri* in line 25 is instructive. A Saxon that knew enough to change an O.H.G. form to O.S. would certainly not make *ummet tirri* out of *unmez irri*. Only when we start from an O.S. original, and suppose that a High German wrote the words as they sounded to him, do we find the explanation. Without doubt the Saxon spoke 'ummet,' though he might have written 'unmet;' and in pronouncing the two words together, the final *t* of *ummet* naturally joined itself to *irri*. The writer, therefore, wrote the words as we find them for the same reason that Otfrid wrote *binnih* for *bin ih*, *slihhtl* for *slihht*, etc.; cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, §§ 94, a. 1, 127, a. 1, 161, a. 5, 164, a. 3.

The alliteration in line 48 has been adduced in evidence that the poem could not have been originally Saxon. The verse reads:

dat du noh bi desemo rîche reccheo ni wurti.

As it stands *rîche* and *reccheo* alliterate, which would not be possible in O.S., since *reccheo* would begin with *w*. But in the corrupt state of the manuscript it is easily supposable that the line has been changed here, perhaps unintentionally, in the attempt to replace an alliteration that had been lost by one that the writer could appreciate. Originally the line might have read in some such way as Möller (*Ahd. All.*, 64) suggests:

ðat ðu wrocheo ni wurti bi ðesse wallantes rîche.

After bringing forward proof that the transcribers were not Saxons, it remains to show that the author of the *Hild.*

was a Saxon. Kögel gives a long list of words and phrases that do not occur in O.H.G. in the sense required here, or that are not found at all (see Paul's *Grundriss*, II, p. 176 f.). This evidence is borne out by the phonology. Let us then consider those sounds that have a different development in O.H.G. and in O.S., and see how much is on the O.S. level.

Ger. *an* (before *p*) > *o* in *ōdre*. Ger. *un* (before *p, s*) > *u* in *gūðhamun*, *chūd* (twice), *gūdea*, *ūsere*. The *n* in *chind* remains, as it does in O.S. *kind*.

Ger. *ē* > *a* always, as in *wāri*, *sūdsat*.

The vowel of the pret. in class I of the reduplicating verbs is *æ* in *hætti*. This has its counterpart in no other O.S. or O.H.G. monument. It does occur, however, in the pret. of ablauting verbs of the first class, as *aræ̃s*. Now it must be remembered that the H.G. scribe, wholly ignorant of O.S. orthography, represented O.S. sounds in his own manner. The vowel that he heard in *hætti* was doubtless open, and he therefore wrote it *æ*. The *ę* of *lęttun* and the *æ* of *furlaet* may be explained in the same way. Or we may compare the *æ* of *furlaet* with the *ei* of Isidor's *firleiz* (cf. *Ger. Studies*, U. of C., II, p. 39, and Brugmann, *Idg. Forsch.*, VI, 97).

Ger. *o* remains *o*, (1) in monosyllables; (2) in unstressed syllables, as *wallōta*; (3) in *frōtōro*, *frōte*, *chōnnem*, *gōten*, *mōtti*, *stōnt*, *stōpun*; (4) it becomes *uo* in *muotin*, *gistuont*, *gistuontun*, *onuosles*, *fuortōs*, *muotti*. The *uo* is probably due to the H.G. influence, though it is also found in O.S.

Ger. *ai* in the stem-syllable is represented by *ē* in *hērōro*, *ēr̃hina*, *gēru*, *ēwīn*, *hēr̃ron wēwurt*, *hēremo*, *dēm* (where it would also be *ē* in O.H.G.); and in *urhēttun*, *tuēm*, *uwēt* (*wēttu*?¹), *hēme*, *ēnīc*, *bēdero*. It is written *ē* in *ēnan*, *ēnīgeru*, *ēpōldante*, *wentilsēfo*; *æ* in *ænon*, *ærist*; *æ* in *raet*; *ei* in *heittu*, *giweit*, *gileitōs*, *cheisuringu*, *gimeinun*.

¹ This belongs here if it is connected with O.H.G. *weisen*. But it may be referred to Goth. *wadjōn*, *wadjan*, as Möller, *Ahd. All.*, 95 f., suggests. The same derivation is given by Wilhelm Luft in a recent dissertation on *Die Entwicklung des Dialoges im alten Hild.*, p. 28, and credited to a 'Studienfreund.'

Of these writings ξ only does not occur in O.S.; but all may well have been used to represent the open sound which the vowel must at that time have had. The *ai* of *staimbort* is the only decidedly un-Saxon writing, and is probably due to the H.G. scribe.

Ger. *aiw* > *eo* in *eo* (thrice) and *neo*.

Ger. *au* > δ in *gihōrta*, *fōhēm*, *flōh*, *ōstar* (thrice), *Ōtachre(s)*, *tōt*. Here the development is the same in O.H.G. as in O.S. It is *ao* in *laosa*, *-laos*, *aodkīhho*, and in *taoc*. This *ao*, in *taoc* as well as in the other words, was simply the H.G. scribe's method of representing the open δ of O.S., a method which he used in his own dialect to represent the first stage of the contracted *au*. The diphthong occurs once as *ou* in *bouga*, a writing that is also in O.S. The *au* of *rauba* is the only instance in which this diphthong is not easily explained from the O.S. view-point. The *au* of *hauwun* shows the regular O.S. development.

Ger. *eu* > *eo* regularly in *-deot*, *Theotrīhhe*, *Deotrīchhe*, *sceot-antero*, *leop*. In the same position it is ϵ in *Dētrīhhe*,¹ *brēton*. It is regularly *iu* in *liuti*, *liuto*, *niuse*. The diphthong *iu* occurs by secondary formation in *hiutu*, *friunt*. The *eu* in *heuwun* corresponds to the first sing. pret. *heu* of O.S.

Consonants.—As already mentioned, *n* falls out before a surd spirant, except in *chind*.

Ger. *p* remains in *werpan*, *scarpēn*, *stōpun*, and is assimilated in *wambnum*.

Ger. θ is represented by *b* initially, medially, and finally in *ibu* (thrice), *būre*, *barn*, *arbeo*, *darbā*, *līb*, *obana*, *ab*, *bouga*, *bi* (thrice), *gibu*, *geba*, *bist*, *ubar*, *habēs* (twice), *burc*, *banun*, *bretōn*, *billiu*, *banin*, *rauba*, *brunnōno*, *bēdero*, *-bort*, and in the repetitions of *-brant* in the proper names; it is *v* in *hevane*; and its gemination is *bb* in *habbe*. It is twice *p* initially, *prāt*, *pist*; twice finally, *leop*, *gap*; and once geminated, *sippan*.

Ger. *f* is always *f*, occurring only initially.

¹ The word must be written with ϵ < *eo*, as in *Dētrīhhe*, if it is connected with O.E. *brēotan*.

Ger. *k* becomes: (a) medially between vowels, and finally after vowels, (1) *k* in *ik* (twice) and *harmkico*; (2) *h(h)* in *ih* (five times), *mih* (thrice), *dih*, *sih* (thrice), *Theotrihhe*, *Dëtrihhe*, *aodlihho*, *welihhes*; (3) *ch* in *Deotricche*, *riche*. It becomes: (b) initially and in similarly treated positions (1) *k* in *cnuosles*, *folc* [*quad*] (thrice); (2) it becomes *ch* in *folche(s)*, *Ôtachre(s)*, *chind* (twice), *chuninc-*, *chuning*, *chûd* (twice), *de[n]chisto*, *chônneŋ*, *cheisuringu*, *reccheo* (*chludun*?).

Here there is apparently considerable departure from O.S., but it is more in appearance than in reality. The treatment of Ger. *k* in (b) corresponds almost exactly to Isidor's orthography, where the *ch* does not stand for the affricate. Even in O.S. *ch* is sometimes used for *k*. The *ch* in (a) is probably not the same, but is rather the spirant. The pronouns and the proper names naturally took on their O.H.G. form.

Ger. *g* remains throughout initially and medially. Finally it is *g* in *chuning*, and *c* in *dinc*, *chuninc-*, *wic*, *sehstic*, *bure*, *taoc*, *ênic*.

Ger. *h*. We have already seen that the last copyists confused initial *h* before *r* and *w*. That *h* in this position was sounded in the original is seen by alliteration in *hringâ* (6), *hrusti* (56), *hregilo*, *hwerdar* (61), *huittę* (66). The *h* is dropped with resulting contraction in *gimalla* (36), but preserved in *gimahalta* (7, 14, 45). It has been lost from *fireo*, in which it probably stood in the original; and has regularly disappeared in *niuse*, O.S. *niusian*, O.H.G. *niusen*, Goth. *niuhjan*. In all other words it has remained.

Ger. *t* remains in all positions, as *tuēm*, *heittu*, *furlaet*. Ger. *ð* > *t* throughout.

Ger. *þ* is represented by *th* in *Theotrihhe*, and by *ð* in *ðat* (twice), *Haðubrant*, *gáðhamun*. In all other cases, of which there are seventy-seven, we find *d* initially, medially and finally. In the dentals, therefore, the development of Ger. *ð* only is un-Saxon.

In judging of the age of the *Hild.*, the most we can do is to fix the time when the 'vorlage' of the existing manuscript

was written. The use of *ai* in *staimbort*, of *au* in *rauba*, of *ao* (= *āo*) to represent the open *o* < *au*, and of *eo* and never *io* points to about the middle of the eighth century. It was rather after than before 750; for *uo* and *ei* are used each five times. The use of *ei*, however, does not prove a later date than 750, for at this time the O.S. representative of Ger. *ai* had already reached its contracted stage. The very fact that so many characters are used to represent this sound—*e*, *ē*, *æ*, *ae*, *ei*, *ai*—shows that the writer was in doubt how it should be done. The *ou* of *bougā* and the *oh* for *hh* in *riche*, *Deotriche* are probably chargeable to the last copyist. Other evidence for the eighth century is the survival of the dat. plur. ending in *-m* in most of the forms.

The age of the existing manuscript is not so easily determined. For, as we have seen, the copying was done mechanically, with no intention of making changes. Where changes were made, they were probably due to defects in the 'vorlage,' or to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the transcribers. We may, however, set the date of the writing in the first part of the ninth century, with the assurance that, though it may have been later, a later date cannot be proved.

It now remains to determine the dialect of the H.G. element of the *Hild*. Claims have been set up for the Bavarian and for the Franconian. For the latter, it seems to me, the evidence is the better. The vowel-system is in the main as we should expect it from a Franconian in the third quarter of the eighth century who is writing O.S. The use of *ao* is more frequent than we should expect, and might seem to point to the Bavarian dialect. But this is not Bavarian, as *taoc* shows, but, as stated above, the writer's method of indicating open *o*. Perhaps instead of *bougā* we should read *baogā*—the manuscript is here indistinct—and thus add another example of this representation of open *o*. The form *leop* is Franc. as distinguished from Bav. *liup*, though this may be explained as a retention of the O.S. diphthong.

The consonants, where they have not remained on the O.S. level, are treated as in Franc., especially Rhine-Franc. This accounts for the use of *p* and of *ch* as given above. The constant *her* speaks also for the Franc. The *hē* as given in line 22 of Braune's text is a doubtful exception, since the manuscript reads *hera&*. We cannot be sure, therefore, that this is the O.S. *hē* retained. Further evidence for the Franc. need not be given, as a comparison of its phonology with that of the *Hild.* given above speaks for itself. It will be seen that there is nothing necessarily Bav.

Our conclusion in the whole matter then is this: (1) the *Hild.* was originally composed in O.S.; (2) this poem a Franconian in the third quarter of the eighth century wrote from memory or from dictation, representing the O.S. sounds according to his H.G. orthography; (3) this manuscript was afterward mechanically copied, probably in the early part of the ninth century, by a writer or by writers belonging also to the Franc. dialect.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

XIII.—THE ORIGIN OF THE RULE FORBIDDING HIATUS IN FRENCH VERSE.

The rule forbidding hiatus in French verse which has been followed in all literary poetry since Malherbe's day may be thus formulated :—

A word ending in a vowel other than an *e* muet cannot be followed within the same line by a word beginning with a vowel or *h* muette.

Where a word ends in an *e* muet and the following word begins with a vowel or an *h* muette, the *e* muet is elided and the hiatus thus avoided.

For the purposes of this rule the *t* of *et* is supposed not to exist.

Oui is sometimes treated as though it began with a consonant.

Hiatus is allowed before or after a few interjections ; also in certain set expressions such as *peu à peu*, *cà et là*, and the like.

It is now generally recognized that this rule was an outgrowth of a tendency already existing in French verse, that in so far it was justified, but that Malherbe did not fully understand the rule with which he was dealing, made his rule too comprehensive in one direction by forbidding many combinations such as *il y a*, *tu es*, *où est-il ?* where there is no genuine hiatus, and not sufficiently comprehensive in another direction because he failed to forbid : first, the hiatus which results when the first word ends in a consonant which is silent in all cases, as *loup*, *pied* ; second, the hiatus which sometimes results when the first vowel is a so-called nasal vowel, as in *camp anglais* ; and third, the hiatus liable to occur through the elision of an *e* muet preceded by a vowel, as in *joie oisive*—*je suis montée au haut de la muraille* (see Lubarsch, *Französische Verslehre*, p. 487).

The result has been to put a handicap on French poets which they are only beginning now to throw off.

I hope to make it seem probable that the tendency imperfectly expressed by Malherbe's rule is a fundamental one, discernible throughout the growth of French speech, and depending on the physiological character of French utterance.

The word hiatus expresses the unpleasant gap which occurs in the continuous flow of speech when two vowels follow each other without the interposition of a consonant or semi-vowel. This sense of a void seems to result, at least partly, from the cessation of the noise in the throat, taken in connection with the comparative inactivity of the mouth organs of speech in the enunciation of the two vowels immediately following on each other, and which are not pronounced together as a diphthong.

Thus, as is pointed out in T. H. Braam's *Malherbe's Hiatus Verbot und der Hiatus in der neufranzösischen Lyrik*, *i* or *ou* plus a different vowel does not give an hiatus as a semi-vowel develops.

The same is true of *i* plus *i* which, at least within a word, is always followed by a different vowel,—*nous riions, vous criez*.

The same is true of close *o*.

In this way the vast majority of hiatuses occurring within modern French words are proved not to be genuine.

These considerations go to show that modern French is a language in which hiatus within a word is confined to a few learned words such as *chaos, coopérer*, and the like.

Between words, of course, what looks like hiatus frequently occurs in the written language, but from what we have just seen we should expect in the spoken language a strong tendency to avoid or suppress hiatus.

Now there are three ways of suppressing hiatus between closely connected words. The two words may be pronounced together, forming a diphthong, as is done in Italian and Spanish, or a semi-vowel or consonant may be developed,—this is frequent in Beranger's popular verse,—or, finally, the first vowel

may be suppressed ; this happens with mute *e*, with *a* of *la*, with *i* of *si* before *il*, and in popular speech with the *u* and *i* of *tu* and *qui*,—*l'es hèle, l'homme qu'est venu*.

The reason French does not smooth away the difficulty as Spanish and Italian do, seems to lie in the fact that French has no genuine diphthongs, *i. e.*, diphthongs in which the first vowel is not essentially a semi-vowel as in *oi* and *ié*, and this, as I think, is due to the weak stress-accent in French, making it hard to pronounce two vowels in one syllable.

In a paper read before this Association, six years ago, I attempted to show that the shrinking up of the post-tonic vowels in French was due to this same weakness of the stress-accent, and the way the French have dealt with the hiatus seems to me another consequence of the same fundamental physiological principle.

Now this strong tendency to avoid hiatus, which we find in modern French, is an important factor in the historical development of the language.

The dropping of a consonant between two vowels in the old language necessarily resulted in a large number of hiatuses, and they had been smoothed away by the beginning of the fifteenth century, either by the dropping of the first pro-tonic vowel, as in *eu*, *gageure*, *ou*, *Saône*, *aolt*, or in a few cases by dropping the second vowel, as in *Laon*, *taon*, or finally by combining the two into one 'mischlaut,' as in *chaîne*, *chaire*.

If now we look at Old French verse we find a corresponding state of things for hiatus between words. In the *Chanson de Roland* (see *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, by G. Paris, "Observationes Grammaticales"), hiatus is comparatively seldom, as many end-consonants which afterwards dropped out are still heard. The harshest kind of hiatus where the first vowel is distinctly atonic and the second carries the stress is already avoided in many cases by elision.

In *Chrétien de Troyes* hiatuses of the worst kind are very frequent between words, as they are then frequent within a word, owing to the dropping out of the medial consonant.

In Jean de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Rose*, i. e., in the beginning of the fourteenth century, hiatus is still frequent. For instance we have *Qui les éparpille e aïne*, 6056. We are still in the period where the *e* before the tonic has not yet been dropped, and find *chéoit, aëture, véu, aconséu*. When we come to Villon, a century later, the change has taken place, *véu* has become *vu*, and as we might expect we find in him a distinct avoiding of the hiatus, and from then down the avoiding of bad hiatuses by the poets is very marked. Ronsard distinctly lays down a rule to that effect in his *Art Poétique*, giving as an example to be avoided the clause—*votre beauté a envoyé amour*. This tendency has already, from Marot down, been recorded by philologists, but in Villon it is already very marked: in the whole of the *Grand Testament* there are not more than half a dozen real hiatuses, showing that we have here a genuine French phenomenon, and not an imitation of Latin models, as might be thought if the tendency first appeared in the Renaissance poets of the sixteenth century.

In view of this progressive disappearance of hiatus within French words and of hiatus between words in later French verse, it may well be asked whether the *t* in *a-t-il, aime-t-il*, though doubtless partly the result of the analogy of *est-il, voit-il*, is not also partly due to the tendency to avoid hiatus. The same query may be raised about such derived forms as *bijoutier, velouté*.

I believe that phonetics would have taken a long step forward, if the myriad phenomena in a dialect could be shown to depend on one or two marked characteristics in the utterance of the speakers of that dialect; and that the varying intensity in different dialects of the word accent and the varying intensity and frequency of the sentence accent are two such general characteristics through which many particular phenomena may be accounted for.

It is interesting to notice the practice of modern French popular verse, which of course utterly ignores Malherbe and his rule. The avoidance of hiatus is very marked and is

carried out partly by eliding *e*, *u* and *i*, partly by inserting *z*'s and *t*'s.

Even hiatuses allowed by Malherbe are thus avoided :

Quand n'y a pas l'noindr' profit-z-à-faire
 Sur tant d' réformés mécontents,
 Les juges p't-êtr' f'raient not' affaire;
 Mais l'roi n'leux en laisse pas l'tems.

Béranger, *Complainte d'une de ces demoiselles*.

Je n'suis qu'un bouqu'tière et j'n'ai rien,
 Mais d'vos soupirs j'me lasse,
 Monsieur l'croqu'mort, car il faut bien
 Vous dir' vot' nom-z-en face.

Id., *La bouquetière et le croque-mort*.

Or take that extremely modern song of Jules Jouy, *Gavroche à Boulange*.

Of course a very marked characteristic of this song is the dropping of the *e* muets in accordance with current Paris pronunciation. The vigor thus gained is very marked, and literary poetry will surely make a distinct gain if it concludes to revise its hiatus rule and its rule of counting the *e* muets in accordance with the practice we find in these popular poets.

P. B. MARCOU.

XIV.—ANTWURT VND KLAG MIT ENTSCHULDIGUNG
DOCTOR MURNERS WIDER
BRU°DER MICHEL STIFEL.

Th. Murner, the great opponent of Luther and one of the most interesting characters of the Reformation period, is unduly overshadowed by his great antagonist, Martin Luther, just as Wallenstein is by Gustavus Adolphus; and what Schiller wrote about Wallenstein: "Von der Parteien Hass und Gunst verwirrt schwankt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte," is equally true of Murner.

It is to be regretted that *Lessing* did not carry out his intention of devoting a "Rettung" to Murner in order to free him especially from the imputation of having written merely for the purpose of making money. That he did not underestimate Murner's importance for the study of the history of those times, is shown by his remark: "Wer die Sitten der damaligen Zeit kennen will, wer die deutsche Sprache in allem ihrem Umfange studieren will, dem rathe ich, die Murnerschen Gedichte fleissig zu lesen. Was die Sprache Nachdrückliches, Derbes, Anzügliches, Grobes und Plumpes hat, kann er nirgends besser zu Hause finden, als in ihnen" (Scheible, *Kloster*, iv, 579).

For the first details about Murner's life we are indebted to G. E. Waldau, who published in 1775 his *Nachrichten über Thomas Murners Leben und Schriften*.

More recently Murner has found several biographers. In 1879 K. Goedeke attempted an "Ehrenrettung" Murner's in the introduction to his edition of Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung*; but, as is likely to happen in such cases, Goedeke went too far in his eulogy of Murner. In the same year there appeared a more important contribution on Murner by Charles Schmidt in the second part of his *Histoire de l'Alsace littéraire*. In my opinion this is the most just and objective presentation of Murner's life and works which we possess.

Within the last few years G. E. Kawerau has published two articles on Murner in the *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (*Thomas Murner und die Kirche des Mittelalters*, Halle, 1890, and *Thomas Murner und die deutsche Reformation*, Halle, 1891). Although Kawerau has made a careful study of the sources, yet he himself admits that his contributions do not afford the student of literature an exhaustive biography of this strange and remarkable Franciscan. Nor can Ernst Martin's article on Murner in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* satisfy the demands of the student of literature.

Many points, especially concerning the latter part of Murner's life, remain obscure. Nothing, however, has been a greater puzzle to most of his biographers than the fact that this very bitter opponent of the Reformation has translated into German Luther's most powerful attack upon the Catholic Church, his *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium*.

The original edition of Murner's translation like most of his works has become very rare. However, this translation has been embodied in modernized form in the Leipsic and Altenburg editions of Luther's works, and also in that of Walch. The new Weimar edition contains only the Latin original with, however, frequent references to Murner's translation.

Luther himself remarks about this translation in his *Antwort deutsch Mart. Luthers vff Koenig Henrichs von Engelland buch*, 1522 (Weimar edition, VI, 488): "Wiewohl ich das Licht nicht scheu, hat mirs doch nichts gefallen dasz es verdeutschet ist, aus der Ursach, dasz es mein giftiger feind than hat, mich zu schänden, und gar selten troffen wird, was ich selb nicht verdeutsche."

Murner alludes to this translation in his work *Ob der König vnz engelland ein lügner sey oder der Luther*, Straszburg, 1522, where he remarks (ed. Scheible, 898): "Das er (Luther) aber sagt ich hab im die babilonisch gefencknisz verdeutschet in zu°schenden, daz gestand ich, ich hab aber seine wort nit gefelscht mit eincherlei vnwarheit, dan allein sein lateinische wort nach

meinem vermügen zu^o deutsch gesprochen; ist im das selbig bu^och zu^o schanden, so hat er sich selber geschent vnd nit ich, dan ich seins bu^ochs kein macher, sunder ein dalmetsch gewesen bin."

This statement of Murner seems to be plain enough, but in spite of it we read in the last monograph on Murner by Kawerau (*Th. Murner und die deutsche Reformation*, page 37): "Man hat bekanntlich aus dieser Thatsache (Murner's translation of Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica*) eine zeitweilige Hinneigung unseres Franziskaners zur Reformation folgern wollen, und man darf, wie mir scheint, diese Annahme nicht ohne weiteres von der Hand weisen. Aber immerhin ist in dieser Frage manches dunkel, so dass man über Vermutungen schwerlich hinaus kommen wird."

Additional light is shed upon this question by another of Murner's writings that has escaped his biographers up to this time and it is to be hoped that this will put an end to all further conjectures with reference to his translation of Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praehudium*.

After "Bru^oder Michael Styfel Augustiner von Eszlingen" had published his pamphlet *Von der Christförmigen, rechtgegründten leer Doctoris Martini Luthers, ein überusz schön kunstlich Lyed, sampt seyner neben vszlegung*,¹ in which he glorifies the great Reformer by comparing him to the angel in *Revelation* (14, 6), Thomas Murner came out, in the spring of 1522, with his *Ain new lied von dem vndergang des Christlichen glaubens*,² in which he summed up once more all that he had to say against the new doctrine. W. Kawerau, in his work, *Thomas Murner und die deutsche Reformation*, comments upon this *lied* as follows: "Man spürt in diesen Versen wirklich etwas wie eine tiefe innere Erregung, und er findet für diese bewegte Empfindung einen so kraftvollen und lebendigen Ausdruck, dass hier in einer bisher von ihm nie erreichten Weise Inhalt und Form harmonisch zusammenklingen. Zwar wird

¹ Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 223.

² Cf. Scheible, *Kloster*, IV, 667 ff.; Uhland's *Volkslieder*, II, 906 ff.

auch hier der Eindruck durch die Ausdehnung des Gedichts einigermassen beeinträchtigt, doch scheint mir immerhin dieses Lied 'von dem Untergange des christlichen Glaubens'¹ mit das Bedeutendste zu sein, was in jenen bewegten Tagen aus dem gegnerischen Lager in volkstümlicher Form wider Luther und die Reformation gesagt und gesungen worden ist. Und vor allem ist das für das Lied von Vorteil, dass Murner hier von jeder persönlichen Polemik sich freihält. Wohl ist die sachliche Beziehung auf jene Stiefelsche Schrift² unverkennbar, aber nirgends wendet er sich direkt gegen ihn, sondern giebt nur dem Ausdruck, was an Klagen und an Befürchtungen die Herzen aller Anhänger des Alten bewegen musste."

Janssen also in his *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II, 124 f., has words of high praise for this publication of Murner's. No doubt Murner was deeply in earnest when his muse inspired him to this production and it shows him at his very best.

This *lied* was paraphrased by Stifel in a pamphlet entitled *Wider doctor Murners falsch erdicht lyed*,³ the tone of which, to use Kawerau's expression, is throughout "von ungeschlachter Derbheit."

Murner found it necessary to reply to this attack and published in 1522 "vff den abent der geburt Marie" (Sept. 7) his *Antwurt vnd Klag mit entschuldigung wider bru'der M. Stifel*, of which, according to Goedeke, there is only one copy in existence, the one in the British Museum (3905, d. 106). So far as I can see, none of the biographers of Murner, neither Waldau, Kurz, Goedeke, Ch. Schmidt, nor Kawerau have had access to this pamphlet. This fact alone would be excuse enough for its republication. But it is especially valuable, because Murner refers in it once more to his translation of Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica*.

¹ Cf. also Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Volkes*, II, 125 ff.

² *Von der Christförmigen, rechtgegründten leer Doctoris Martini Luthers*, etc.

³ Cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 223.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 218 (39).

His words are: "*des bezüg ich mich vff das buch der babilonischen gefencknis, daz ich selbs vertütschet hab, vff das doch der gemein Christ sehe vwer gotz lesterung vnd schendung der heiligen sacrament.*"

There cannot be any doubt whatever that it was *not* the intention of Murner to help the cause of the great Reformer by this translation, but to injure it. I therefore fully endorse Knaake's remark in Vol. 6 of the Weimar edition of Luther's works: "Luther sollte dem Volke, das den Gehalt seiner Schrift nicht zu prüfen vermochte, als Empörer wider die Kirche und ihre Satzungen erscheinen; es war so in der That darauf abgesehen, *'ihn zu schänden.'*"

II.

Antwort vnd klag mit entschuldigung doctor Murners wider bru'der Michel stifel weyt von eszlingen daheim | vff das stifel bu'ch so er wider meyn lied gemacht hat | darusz er des lieds den rechten thon erlernen mag.

[Reprinted from a copy in the British Museum.]

— Von bru'der —

[A₁b.] Zu° allen stifelen des deutschen lands.

ES verwundert mich ir wolgeschmierten vnd hochgeliderten stifel des deutschen lands | daz ir mir nit zu° gu'tem verstanden haben | vnd vff genumen | daz ich doch einmal fro'denreich ein lied gesungen hab | vnd ich doch nie kein verdrusz oder miszfallen gehabt hab | ob man vch stifel zu° ros z oder vff dem land brucht in dem kat vnd dreck mit vch vmb zu° gon | vnd mit namen also feindlich anrennen vnd vberfallen on all | erlangte recht vber mich | vnd vnbewaret ewerer eren on alle absagung vff mich der maszen angreifen | brennen vnd rauben | mit nagel | feür vnd eisen ꝛc. wider vermügen vnd tenor der guldin bullen. So ich aber in gantzer hoffnung bin daz ir wolgeschmirtten stifel nit alle schuld daran haben | oder dises

—*Michel stifel*—

feindlichen anlauffens antweders kein wissen tragt | oder follen
bericht | wil ich vch mit disem brieff den vollen handel zu°
berichten nit vorhalten. Es hat ein vngeschmirter fischerstifel
die bei vns zu° den gro°bsten sein ein lied gesungen in bru°der
veiten thon | wie es im nit vmb ein har fel | wie der luther ein
engel sei | vnd sein kunst stieb vber berg vnd dal | vnd hab
doch fleisch vnd bein | als ob dy engel menschen weren auch
wie er die gschrift nach fisierung abseiget vnd kein fledermüsz
fo°rchtet | auch wie weit iherusalem worden sei | mit fleisziger
bit daz in got erho°r bisz er ein glück erschleich | gu°te suppen
vberkum | dan man koch im ietz biter ko°cht | auch wie sein
hertz mit sünden schertzet vnd sei im der rüw ein schimpf vnd
spot | vnd wie sein seel geschwertzet [A, a] sei got sol sie im
mit ru°ten fegen oder mit besen dan ich sunst nüt wiszt wamit
man sie fegen künt | daz ir auch des vbel geliderten stifels natur
gantz erkennen | git er sich in obgenantem lied selbs also zu°
erkenen | wie er sich in gu°tem spar vnd geil sei in bo°sem | vff
falscheit far | die warheit feil trag daz sein syn eigne wort vnd
kuntschaft die nim ich an | vnd weiter sei sein sel gestreckt vff
lust vnd hellisch ru°sz | vnd wie got alles gu°t verdriesz ꝛ.
mit fil andern worten keim menschen sunder einem stifel wol-
gebürent | lut seiner eignen hantgeschrift die noch vorhends
ist | wie wol durchsudelt vnd geschriben in der druckerei | doch
bei mir behalten allen stifelen zu° gu°tem vnd zu° eren. Nun
het aber ich ie vermeinet | so es den stifelen erlaubt were zu°
singen | es wer vff daz minst mir alsz einer katzen | vnd drachen |
auch des babet geiger vnd einem narren wie mich dan diszes
hertz liebes druts | früntliches vnd holtseligs stifelin nennet der
gleich zu° singen | vnd fro°lich zu° sein nit verboten | vorab
von denen die zu° eszlingen sein so weit von mir | die ich auch
mit meinem singen nit erdo°ube | so beid mein par stifel | die
ich von Venedig gebracht hab | vnd des besten corduanischen
leders sein | mich täglich daz liedlin haben geho°rt in meiner
stuben singen | vnd nie kein wort dar zu° gesagt haben | es wer

mir auch in mein gedanck nie kumen daz die stifel ein verdus solten daran gehabt haben | ich wil der pantoffen geschweigen | doch so er vermeint ich thu° als ein aff waz ich von andern sehe daz vnderstand ich auch | gefelt mir danocht wol vnd kitzlet mich daz er mir den breisz gibt | das ich bas singen kan dan er | dan er zu° end seins bu°chs mein lied [A,b.] den meisteren beuilcht mir daz krentzlin zu° geben | vnd ich mein affenspil an dem besten vszgericht hab. Ist mein fürnemen | euch wolgeliderten stifel ein bericht zu° geben | der vnbilligkeit so mir von disez fischerstifel zu°gemessen wirt vnd den selben euch perso°nlich zu° erkennen geben | das ir weiters mit im wiszt zu° handeln nach glegenheit der sachen.

Erstlich nent er sich bru°der stifel | da sagt er fast war an | dan yeder stifel hat ein bru°der | so ir doch ein par sein müszen | in dem sinn verstond auch in | dan wa ir in also verstünden daz er sant Augustinus orden ein bru°der wer so ist es nit war | dan sie in veriagt haben vsz dem orden kan ich wol gedencken nit vmb sein vnschuld.

Zu° dem anderen | schreibt er sich von eszlingen das ist auch war | dan die stat ist im verbotten darumb mu°sz er dar von sein vnd nit darinnen.

Zu° dem dritten fragt er mich warum ich so blind gang in der heiligen geschrift | ich mein er sei als wol ein nar als ich daz er nit weiszt daz es der augen schuld ist | so einer blind ist.

Zu°m fierden bin ich schon wie er wil | ein katzen kopf so fahe ich doch kein müs | ein drach | so ersticht mich doch sant Jerg nit | ein esel | drag doch kein seck zu° der mülin.

Zu° dem fünften fragest du mich was ich die christenheit heisz | wan ich lutherisch wer | so sprech ich es wer die versammlung des luthers mit sampt noch zweien oder dreien die hinder dem ofen bellen ewangelisch sein | nüt dan die warheit liegen vnd vffrierige freiheit ersüftzen | wider. 31. (?) christlicher künigreich | aber was ich für die Christenheit halt wil ich dir sagen als bald ich vsz der badstuben kum.

[A,a.] Zu° dem vi. schiltest mich als ob ich nit wiszt was die fürsten von des luthers sachen hielten ich bin nit in irem

rat gewesen | doch haben sie ein edict zu° wurms laszen vsz gon mit sampt dem keiser vnd allen stenden des reichs was ieder sol vff den luther halten vnd sein anhang. So hat auch der babst ein bull lassen vszgon | was man von seiner leer halten sol | aber ich find in beiden brieffen wenig oder nüt gu°tz von dem luther | glaub auch nit das die fürsten anders schreiben | dan reden und halten.

Zu° dem VII. das der bapst | die bischo°ff | des gleichen andre mer geistlichen oberkeiten mit mir | die lüt vber reden | durch vns selig zu° werden | in darreichung ires geltz das sie in der massen falscher hoffnung als dieb stelen | lasz ich den babst vnd sie selber verantwurten. Aber für mein person | so semliche dieb bisz her nit eerlosz erkant noch gewesen sein | lasz ich es auch beru°wen.

Zu° dem VIII. des babsts kron betreffen | glaub ich alsz auch war ist | das solche zierden nit seiner personen | sunder der gantzen cristenheit ist | die im solche kron nit werden lassen zucken on gro°szer keichen dan bisz her gewesen ist.

Zu° dem IX. das ich gesagt hab wie Johannes. XXX. iar nach der vffart Christi sein ewangelium beschriben hab | der vnder Domitiano dem keiszer in pathmos ist verurteilt worden | vnder Nerua wider in ephesum kummen ist | bisz vff trianus¹ zeiten gelebt hat LXVIII. iar nach dem dot Christi. Neüntzig iar alt worden ist | vnd der letst ist gewesen zu° schreiben | vnder allen ewangelisten | gang in die rechten schu°l vnd erlern waz ich gefelet hab | sag (A,b.) ich daz | wil ich es auch mit sicherheit den stifelen fürhalten.

Zu° dem X. das der babst in dem ewangelio nit erstiftet sei | glaub ich nit | warumb stat dan petre weid mein schaff vnd vff dich wil ich mein kirch ersetzen | vnd dir geben die schlüssel des himelreichs | ia ich hab es vergessen wie ir sagen das petrus die gemein heisset | ist das war | so heisset stifel ein alt pantzer | dan man schlüft auch darein als wol als in einen stifel.

Zu° dem XI. das ich als ein drach giftig sei | dan ich wider den luther geschriben hab mit vorhaltung meines namens vnd

¹ Read: traianus.

verborgenlich | daz ret kein frum man von mir dan ist mein nam nit in anfang der büchlein gemeldet gewesen | ist er doch zu° end angezeigt bekantlich vnserm gnedigsten herren vnd fürsten einem bischoff von straszburg | betzüg ich mich vff sein fürstliche genad.

Zu° dem XII. als ich sing wie der keiser üwerer achtung kein aduocat sei | meinstu daz im solch ampt der aduocation in krafft meins ewangeliums zu°ho°r vnd gebür | vnd nit vsz dem ewangelio cristi. Er schreibt sich ein aduocaten der kirchen frag in darumb wa her im daz ampt kume | er würt dir es wol sagen | vnd geho°rt weder stifelen noch pantoffen zu° | den keiser seiner empter zu° rechtfertigen.

Zu° dem XIII. daz ich ein ander ewangelium hab dan ir | daz magstu wol sagen | dan daz mein rat zu° friden | daz vwer zu° vffru°r | daz mein zu° gu°ten wercken | daz vwer allein zu° glauben ob schon die werck in dem werck hoff schlieffen | daz mein zu° vndertho°nen der oberkeit | daz vwer dem babst sein recht zu° verbrennen | vnd nüt vff den keiser vnd alle sein gebot vnd (A. a.) gesetz zu° geben daz mein glauben heilige vnd gemeine christenheit | daz vwer an wenig vffrierigen | vnd mit namen an den karsthansen | der den würt zu° bern mit den fersen bezalet | vbereylet ward zu° burgdorff den wolfs beltz mu°st geben | ich geschweig des frumen vnd blinden edelmans von dieszbach ꝛc. daz sein vwers ewangeliums ewangelisten | so des meinen sein matheus lucas marcus iohannes | die vweren karsthans | kegel hans gugel fritz | zwen bauren im schweitzer land ꝛc. vnd hennen diebolt mit der leren deschen.

Zu° dem XIII. daz ich als ein blu°t hund den keiser wider vch reitz | die ir habt gezügnis des heiligen geists | vwer blu°t hund von dem der keiser schreibt daz er wel sein hend in priesterlichem blu°t weschen | der luther der mag ein solcher anreitzer sein | dan des gleich hat kein man von mir ie geho°rt | das ir aber zügnis haben des heiligen geists | der richter sol zügnis rechtfertigen vnd nit die parthen. Quia nescit homo si gratia aut odio dignus sit.

Zu° dem xv. Ob es vnbillich sei daz der keiser dem babst die füz küsse | las ich sie beid der sach eins werden | mein liebes schwartzes stifelin welcher den anderen küsz vnd wa | der vberigen sorgen hab ich kein.

Zu° dem xvi. ob auch die patriarchen | cardinäl vnd bischoff | recht oder vnrecht weiden. Ich setz es vff das bo°szest das sie vbel weiden | vnd ir blo°de vnd scham entdecken | sag an du schentlicher sun vnd bo°ser Cham | warumb verdeckestu nit vnd beweinst die bo°sze deins vaters mit sem vnd iaphet | sunder sagest daz spo°tlich deinen brüdern | darum würt dir die verflu°chung cham zu° teil werden.

(A₄b.) Zu° dem xvii. sag vnd klag ich daz die gemein kein pfarer zu° erwelen hat | sunder der bischoff wie paulus schreib Ti. 1. darumb hab ich dich zu° Creta gelassen daz du in allen stetten priester ersetzest ꝛ. aber ir lutherschen achten leider wenig vff die leren Pauli | nur wie fil kegels hans kegel werff.

Zu° dem xviii. du meinst got hab die weiszheit den gelerten entzuckt | vnd den kleinen die gegünet | vnd got hab vch ein mund geben dem all vwere sünd nit mügen widersprechen das ist alles vff die xii. botten geret | denen ir vch vergleichen | ich sihe es aber weder an heilikeit noch an der leren wem ir gleicher sehen dan vli von stauffen | ritter peter vnd doctor greiffen von baszel | vnd den hurry vnd ku°ntz fucker von Augspurg.

Zu° dem xix. Fragest mich was die zierd der christenheit sey | sag ich ein alt wamesz | das dannocht vch nümmer als wol an stadt als ein nüwes.

Zu° dem xx. ich sing von dem glauben das der selbig sei der christenheit lob vnd herlicheit | so sprichstu ich mein da mit wie man den babst trag | drei kronen vff setz | vnd die füz küsse. Als ich sihe so bist du ein nar vnd dar zu° ein got das du mir sagen kanst was ich mein | wie fast ich doch mein meinung mit worten¹ vszdruck.

Zu° dem xxi. ich sing die mesz die sol nüm gelten in dem leben noch in dem dot | fragest du mich wer das sag | gib ich

¹ Text: vorten.

ein antwort | der Luther in dem bu'ch (de missa prima abroganda) litz das selbig stoltz büchlin' dem selbigen tha' stifel an | das es sich nit verwüste. Sol die mess kein opfer sein warum sprach cristus das thu'nd in meiner [A. a.] gedechtnis was solten sie thu'n daz er det | aber er opffert den sein dot ho'ret zu' dem nachtmal wie der Luther vnd paulus spricht | daz der dot zu' dem testament ho're.

Zu'm XXI.¹ Ich sag daz ir die sacrament schelten sprichst du ich dieg vch gewalt vnd vnrecht | ir loben sie als sigel der selikeit. so wil ich vch ein wider ruf thu'n | vnd sag daz ir sie nit allein schelten | sunder fünff gar ab thu'n | vnd zwei allein den andern zu' schanden lassen bleiben | *dez bezüg ich mich vff das bu'ch der babilonischen gefencknis' das ich selbs vertütschet hab. vff das doch der gemein Christ sehe vwer gotz leterung vnd schenckung der heiligen sacrament.*

Zu'm XXII. daz wir schmeher seyen der götlichen geschrift geston wir nit | sunder wir hassen vch allein darum daz ir vch der heiligen geschriften miszbruchen | vnd mit verru'chtem leben daz frum euangelium fürwenden | vnd mit euangelischer leer alles daz liegen wa mit ir vmb gond | als des luthers lügen-bu'ch offentlichen anzeigt | daz ich vch bald wil zu' handen stellen.

Zu'm XXIII. daz wir all pfaffen sein | vnd doch kein orden oder weihe haben | wie ich sing vnd der luther lert | kumt vnser lieplichs stifel ho'szlein daher vnd spricht | murnar du meinst daz ein orden zu' sein | so man sant franciscen regel gelobt ho'rt nur doch daz schwartz stifelein wie es mir mein meinung vnzlegt | ich mein wie der luther sagt wir sein all pfaffen vnd pfeffin | ob wir schon die ordnung daz selbig sacrament nit haben | dan er das für ein sacrament verwürft | so spricht stüfelin ich mein sant franciscen orden | ich mein holtz-schu' | so meint er stifel | doch sein sie beide gu't in dem dreck mit vmb zu' gon.

(A, b.) Zu' dem XXIII. fragst mich wie ich daz verstand | die stül ston vff den bencken | verstand ich also daz die men-

¹Should be: Zu'm. XXII.

schen solten reden vnd nit die wüsten stifel | der wagen vor dem rosß | daz verstand ich | den wagen für die gemeinen christen | vnd stifelin für ein zuckroßlin | das blitzt vmb den wagen wan vnd wo es wil | oder stifeli halt ich für daz rosß da got selber vff sasß an dem palm tag | wie kan ich einem wüsten stifel großzer eer an thu'n (quia omnia viuientia non viuientibus proponuntur).

Zu° dem xxv. sprichstu man sag me von mir dan ich wene | ich wil mein vnschuld wa es mir gebürt bekant machen | aber der menschen zungen hab ich nit in meinem gwalt.

Zu° dem xxvi. Fragst du mich ob ich nit der selbig murnar sei der zu° straszburg gepredigt hat | man muß daz ewangelium nit weiter glauben dan als fer die kirch das annimpt. Ja ich bin der selbig nar | was wilt du mir dar vmb kromen | sant Augustin hat mich das gelert predigen | vff den ich mer halt dan vff xiii. par roter stifel.

Zu° dem xxvii. Als ich sing von christlicher heilikeit da mit die sacrament vermeinen die vns der türck laszt wa er vber vns herschet sprichst du ich mein des babst heilikeit | wer ist doch der schu°macher der solchen stifel gemachet hat | der also eigentlich sagen kan was ich vermeine | doch mein ich gret müllerin iargezeit | so sagt mir stifelein von dem sübenden | vnd welcher von sübnen sagt der pfeiff gern zc.

Zu° dem xxviii. Du legst mir zu° | das ich glaube in ein heilige kirch vnd schiltest das für ein abgo°terey. Sag ich das ich glaub in die heilig kristlich kirch | vnd da uszen (A. a.) auch | dar neben der kirchen¹ | oben vnd vnden dardurch vnd wider hindurch | was wilt du mir zu° lon darumb geben | du kanst mich darumb nit blaw furtzen.

Zu° dem xxix. Das ich aber vnszer liebe fraw ie ein metzen oder ein madunnen genant hab | das hat nie kein man von mir ie geho°rt | vnd bezüg mich des vff die mu°ter gotes an meinem letsten end | daz ich daran vnschuldig bin.

Zu° dem xxx. Alles anders so in deinem stifel büchlei stadt | wie ich zu° Freiburg. Augspurg zc. hab müssen bald entrin-

¹Text: birchen.

nen | mit filen zu*gelegten vnwarheiten | das wil ich für alle
stifel kumen in allem dütschen land | vnd ist es sach das sich
deren eins | ia das minst erfint | so wil ich selber ein grober
fischer stifel sein | wan ich schon ein rodt par breut schu'ch
wer.

Wil damit mein eer verantwort haben vor allen stifelen
dütscher nation | das sie mit diszem stifel weit von eszlingen
da heim | dan er nümer dar kumen darff | reden | in anhalten |
das er mich doch auch lasz singen wan ich fro'lich bin | alsz
wol alsz ich im gune zu° singen von grundt meinesz hertzen.
Ich wolt das er mir solt in meiner kefig singen | vnd solt ich
im schon den hanffsomen bezalen also gern ho'r ich in siugen.
Ist er dan so gu't lutherisch vnd ewangelisch ! sol er mir bil-
lich als seinem stifel bru'der der freüden auch gunnen | oder
er kum zu° mir so wellen wir stifelen vnd katzen zu° sammen
singen.

Doch so bit ich in das er mich nit mer einen naren heisz es
thu't mir wee in meim bauch | vnd gewin das krimen (A. b.)
dar von. Damit genad dir got meyn aller liebster stifel vnd
danck dir got deiner ewangelischen | lutherischen | vnd christ-
lichen leren | sie sol ob got wil wol an mir erschiessen bit dich
dar bei | wan *mein groszer luthrischer nar* zu° dir kummen würt |
du wollest in früntlich empfahen | den ich im fil beuolhen hab
von der stifel wegen dich zu° berichten | doch wisz das ein
groszer sterbent des vichs bei vns ist | vnd würt das leder wolf-
fel werden | das würt vns stifellen zu° gu'tem kumen zc.

Vszgangen von doctor Murner vff den abent der geburt
Marie in dem iar. 1522.

ERNST VOSS.

XV.—MARCO POLO AND THE SQUIRE'S TALE.

When the third volume of Professor Skeat's new edition of Chaucer appeared, it was a disappointment to find that he had not revised the opinion of Chaucer's indebtedness to Marco Polo expressed by him¹ several years ago. It is true that his view had been generally accepted, but the cautious manner in which a few prominent scholars had expressed themselves might have suggested a re-examination of the question. The following are fairly representative of the various attitudes of scholars:—

Brandl says: "Ueber das gebiet des märchenhaften hinaus und auf einigermaßen realen boden kommen wir bereits, wenn wir nach der herkunft der tartarischen namen und sitten fragen. Herzberg, *Canterbury-geschichten* s. 631 ff., suchte sie in der reisebeschreibung von Maundeville. Vollständiger decken sich die angaben Chaucer's mit der von Marco Polo. . . . Aus Marco Polo stammen mit geringen veränderungen die namen Cambyuskan, . . . Camballus oder Camballo . . . und Sarai; die personalschilderung des Khan, seines geburtstagsfestes und hofstaates; die bemerkung, dass die Tartaren manches essen, 'that in this lond men recch of it but smal;' das erscheinen eines gesandten von einem anderen könig mit geschenken; endlich der baumgarten mit allerlei falken in der nähe des palastes." *Engl. Stud.*, xii, 163.²

In 1893 Pollard said: "The great Cambuscan may be traced ultimately to the travels of Marco Polo," *Primer*, p. 117; in 1894 he had perhaps re-examined the question, for he speaks more cautiously: "Dr. Skeat has quoted passages from Marco Polo's description of Kublai Khan as the sources of some of Chaucer's lines, but the resemblances are not very close."—*The Canterbury Tales*, II, 192.

¹ Keightley had expressed the same opinion in 1834 (cf. Skeat's note, III, 463), but apparently without gaining a hearing.

² I have omitted Brandl's references.

Ten Brink's latest utterance was: "Der englische Dichter schöpfte jedoch dem Anscheine nach seinen hochasiatischen Sagenstoff nicht aus arabischen oder gar abendländischen Bearbeitungen, sondern aus einer weniger abgeleiteten, sei es nun mündlichen oder schriftlichen Quelle, und die Uebereinstimmung in der Schilderung tartarischer Verhältnisse, die man zwischen ihm und Marco Polo nachgewiesen hat, könnte ihren Grund in der Beschaffenheit eben jener uns unbekannten Quelle haben."—*Gesch. d. engl. Litteratur*, II, 173.

Lounsbury expressed no opinion on the subject, because, as I understood him to say, he felt the argument to be insufficient, but had been unable to make a sufficient examination of it to reject it entirely.

The reason, therefore, that Dr. Skeat regarded it as unnecessary to reopen the question is, probably, that all who have not accepted his theory have practically contented themselves with merely rejecting as insufficient proof the parallel passages adduced by him. Were the proof merely to be rejected as insufficient, the case might rest, but it seems possible to go further, and show that it is hardly credible that with any—even the most incomplete—MS. of Polo before him, Chaucer would have written of Tartary as he did. The supposition that he would and did carries with it the supposition that he treated his material after a fashion of which it would be hard to find another example, either in his own writings or in mediæval literature. We should have to believe that he deliberately took a bit here and a bit there, transferred names, qualities and descriptions from one person to another, and even from a city to a person, disregarded statements lying in immediate connection with those he used,—in short, so manipulated his "author," that almost any other account of Tartary would have served his purpose just as well. This would be unescapable, for no one who seriously considers all the facts can for a moment entertain the opinion that Chaucer could have been so careless and stupid as to fall into the confusions ascribed to him.

Let us examine the facts.

It can hardly fail to arouse a slight suspicion when one discovers at the very start that Sarai,¹ the scene of Chaucer's story, is no more prominent in the narrative of Polo than a hundred other cities. Use of Yule's index and diligent search of the book itself bring to light in Polo the following information about Sarai—and no more:—"So they set forth from Soldaia and travelled till they came to the court of a certain Tartar Prince, BARCA KAAAN by name, whose residences were at SARA and at BOLGARA."² There is a good deal said about Sarai in Yule's notes (I, 5 and II, 420, 424), but it is not mentioned again by Polo, though the Sea of Sarain is (which, according to Yule, is called the Sea of Sarra in the Catalan Map of 1375).

Were it not for the state of the facts in regard to Sarai, it would be hypercritical to point out in regard to "Tartarye" that Marco Polo does not use the term, that he gives a definite name to each of the countries he passes through, and that not even the most careless reader could fail to get from him a

¹ Dr. Skeat says (III, 474, n. 2), "This is Chaucer's 'Sarra;'" but in none of the six texts of Chaucer is the name spelled *Sarra*. Scarcely more intelligible is the remark (v. 370), "And it is easy to see that, although Chaucer *names* Sarai, his description really *applies* to Cambaluc." Chaucer nowhere describes Sarai; one feels that it must have been a fine city, but Chaucer does not say so; and if he had, why should his description apply rather to Cambaluc than to Kinsay, which, according to Polo, means "The City of Heaven" and "is beyond dispute the finest and noblest in the world?"—Marco Polo, ed. Yule, II, 145.

It is hypercritical to call attention to the fact that on "the laste Idus of March" Kublai, according to Polo, was never in his capital city: "After he has stopped at his capital city those three months that I mentioned, to wit, December, January and February, he starts off on the first day of March, and travels southward toward the Ocean Sea, a journey of two days" (M. P., I, 357-8). "And when he has travelled till he reaches a place called Cachar Modun, there he finds his tents pitched" (*Ib.* 359). "The Lord remains encamped there until the spring [the middle of May], and all that time he does nothing but go hawking" (*Ib.* 361).

² M. P., I, 4. Apparently the Polos were not at Sarai, but at Bolgara, cf. I, 5.

clear idea of the separation of the Empire of Kipchak from that of Cathay, under Toctai and Kublai respectively.¹

If Chaucer learned from Polo much about the ravaging of Russia by the Tartars, he must have been the most careful—or careless—of readers. All that Polo says is: "The first lord of the Tartars of the Ponent was SAIN, a very great and puissant king, who conquered Rosia and Comania, Alania, Lac, Menjar, Zic, Gothia, and Gazaria" (II, 421, cf. above, note¹). Previously he had said: "Rosia is a very great province lying towards the north. . . . There are many strong defiles and passes in the country; and they pay tribute to nobody except to a certain Tartar king of the Ponent whose name is TOCTAI; to him indeed they pay tribute, but only a trifle" (II, 417-8).

In regard to Cambyuskan Dr. Skeat says (III, 472), "if the reader can turn to the second book of Marco Polo, he will soon see clearly enough that Chaucer's Cambinskan (though the name itself is formed from Chingis Khan), is practically identical with Marco's Kublai Khan."² Then follow some

¹ "And so I will tell you about the Tartars of the Ponent and the lords who have reigned over them. The first lord of the Tartars of the Ponent was SAIN, a very great and puissant king. . . . After King Sain reigned King PATU, and after Patu BARCA, and after Barca MUNGLETEMUR, and after Mungletemur King TOTAMANGUL, and then TOCTAI the present sovereign. Now I have told you of the Tartar kings of the Ponent, and next I shall tell you of a great battle that was fought between Alan the Lord of the Levant and Barca the Lord of the Ponent" (II, 421). It is true, however, that Polo also speaks of "that Prince whose name was CUBLAY KAAAN, Lord of the Tartars all over the earth" (I, 12), and of "this Cublay, who is the Lord of all the Tartars in the world, those of the Levant and of the Ponent included" (I, 217).

² ". . . whilst he [sc. Chaucer] *names* Gengis Khan . . . his description really *applies to* Kublai Khan, his grandson, the celebrated 'Grand Khan' described by Marco Polo."—Skeat, v, 371. But so far as Chaucer's description applies to either, it applies equally well to Genghis; cf. Marco Polo, I, 209-216.

Why, if Chaucer used Polo, he did not take Kublai as his King does not appear. Kublai is praised again and again by Polo; cf., e. g., "CUBLAI KAAAN, who is the sovereign now reigning, and is more potent than any of

quotations, which prove, at best, that Kublai, like Cambyuskan, was very able and brave and rich; at worst they prove that if Chaucer had Kublai in mind, it was not Kublai as he was known to Marco Polo. For example, let us complete Dr. Skeat's first quotation about Kublai (III, 471); immediately after the sentence, "His complexion is white and red, the eyes black and fine, the nose well formed and well set on,"—to which I need hardly remind you nothing in Chaucer corresponds—Polo continues, "He has four wives, whom he retains permanently as his legitimate consorts; and the eldest of his sons by those four wives ought by rights to be emperor—I mean when his father dies. These four ladies are called empresses, but each is distinguished also by her proper name," &c. (I, 318). Of course it may have suited Chaucer's purposes to disregard three of these ladies and the many other wives of Kublai mentioned elsewhere by Polo;¹ but he cannot have been ignorant of them.

In verses 23–4 Cambyuskan is described as

Yong, fresh and strong, in armes desirous
As any bachelor of al his hous.

Polo says, "Up to the year of Christ now running, to wit, 1298, he hath reigned two and forty years, and his age is about eighty-five, so that he must have been about forty-three years of age when he first came to the throne. Before that time *he had often been to the wars, and had shown himself a gallant soldier and an excellent captain.*"² But after coming to the throne he never went to the wars in person save once" (I, 296). I submit that with this passage before him Chaucer would

the five who went before him; in fact, if you were to take all those five together, they would not be so powerful as he is. Nay, I will say yet more; for if you were to put together all the Christians in the world, with their Emperors and their Kings, the whole of these Christians,—aye, and throw in the Saracens to boot,—would not have such power, or be able to do so much as this Cublay" (I, 217).

¹ Cf. p. 358, below.

² Dr. Skeat quotes only the words here italicized.

hardly have written the description just given of the king when he had borne his diadem twenty winters. Indeed one can hardly fail to see that Chaucer in his description of Cambyuskan merely attributes to him the stock qualities of a model man; ¹ cf., e. g., the requirements of Pertelotte in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*:

For certes, what so any woman seith,
We alle desyren, if it mighte be,
To han housbondes hardy, wyse and free,
And secree, and no nigard, ne no fool,
Ne him that is agast of every tool,
Ne noon avauntour, by that god above! (B. 4101-7.)

There is no more reason for seeking the description of Cambyuskan in that of Kublai than for seeking in Polo's elaborate descriptions of the palace, the dais, the park, and the feasts of Kublai, the source of the brief and undistinctive treatment in Chaucer of these commonplaces of mediæval romance.² And, as we have seen, if any one insists upon making the search, he finds more than he wants.

In connection with the lines:—

As of the secte of which that he was born,
He kepte his lay, to which that he was sworn—

¹ It cannot be necessary to cite passages to prove that in mediæval literature any good person or thing is usually described as being unsurpassed in any region; typical instances are: King Arthur, *Yvain and Gawain*, vv. 11-14, Ottouyan, Dagabers and Marsabelle, *Octavian*, I, vv. 25 ff., 45 ff., II, 16 ff., 781 ff., Athelwold, *Havelok*, 27-109, and cf. Kölbing's note on *Beris*, A 2047. This was moreover Chaucer's own practice.

² Polo's description of the palace and park (I, 324-7) is too long for quotation; but it has several characteristic features, not one of which is reproduced by Chaucer. On the feasts cf. below, p. 356. Brandl (see quotation, p. 349, above) speaks of "der baumgarten mit allerlei falcken in der nâhe des palastes;" but, so far as we know, the only falcon in the park of Cambyuskan was the faucon peregryn of *fremde londe*. It therefore seems hardly just to lay stress, as Dr. Skeat does (III, 474), upon the great number of falcons in Cathay, or even upon the particular description of peregrine falcons. The falcon was no rare bird in mediæval Europe; he flies through most of the romances, cf. *Libeaus Desconus*, *passim*.

is quoted (III, 473) a passage in which some scoffers at the power of the Cross are rebuked by Kublai. Of this nothing need be said.

But if the attempt to find in Kublai the prototype of Cambyuskan must be regarded as a failure, the three-fold confusion which the use of Polo would imply is simply incredible. We are asked to believe that Chaucer took the name of Cambyuskan from a bad spelling of Chinghis Khan, assigned to the character qualities drawn from Kublai as he was forty years before Polo saw him, and set the figure so produced, not in the place of the original Chinghis nor in that of Kublai, but in that of Toctai, of whose character and position Polo gives a clear and definite account.¹ That Chaucer could inadvertently have fallen into such a confusion seems incredible; and it is difficult to imagine what motives could have induced him to play such a hocus-pocus knowingly.

Before leaving this part of our subject, it may be worth while to remark that there are literally scores of passages in Polo (several are quoted by Dr. Skeat) declaring with irresistible iteration that Khan is a title, not a part of a name.²

Cambyuskan being thus a combination of Chinghis and Kublai and Toctai, and the city of Sarai with its palace and park being really described after accounts given of Cambaluc, a third confusion is assumed in regard to the feast. "It is not clear," we are told (v, 372), "*why* Chaucer hit upon this day in particular [the laste Idus of March]. Kublai's birthday was in September, but perhaps Chaucer noted that the White Feast was on New Year's day, which he took to mean the vernal equinox, or some day near it." Why a guess that New Year's Day among the Tartars fell at the vernal equinox should have caused Chaucer to mislocate the Kaan's

¹ Cf. quotation above, p. 352.

² Cf. Skeat, III, 472, 473, 474, and also, "the Great Kaan now reigning, by name Cublay Kaan; Kaan being a title which signifieth 'The Great Lord of Lords,' or Emperor."—Polo, I, 295. The MSS. appear not to have distinguished *Khan* and *Kaan*.

birthday, or why, mislocating it, he hit upon a day which was not the equinox does not appear. But let us hear Polo: "You must know that the Tartars keep high festival yearly on their birthdays. And the Great Kaan was born on the 28th day of the September Moon, so on that day is held the greatest feast of the year at the Kaan's Court, always excepting that which he holds on the New Year's Day, of which I will tell you afterwards" (I, 343). A little further on he continues: "Now I will tell you of another festival which the Kaan holds at the New Year, and which is called the White Feast. The beginning of their New Year is the month of February, and on that occasion the Great Kaan and all his subjects make such a feast as I shall now describe. It is the custom that on this occasion the Kaan and all his subjects should be clothed entirely in white" (I, 344-6). Is it likely that these passages were in Chaucer's mind when he wrote of the birthday feast? It may be noted here as well as anywhere else that in Chaucer's account of the feast there appears not one of the really characteristic and striking features of either the birthday or the New Year's feast as described by Polo.¹ Indeed there is not a trait that is not a commonplace of the romances. The dais, the dinner with its swans and heronsewes, the minstrels after the third course, the dancing, are all only too familiar. The jogelours, referred to later on as performing their marvels "at these festes grete," belong to the same category. There is nothing characteristically oriental about any of them.

One and only one feature of this feast is out of the ordinary. This is contained in the euphemistic lines:—

¹ Besides the striking feature of the color of the garments worn at the White Feast, cf. Polo's account of the cups which move as if by magic and serve Kublai (I, 286, 310), the presentation of 100,000 white horses (I, 346, quoted by Skeat, III, 474), and the general offering of presents in accordance with prescription (Polo, I, 344; Skeat, III, 473) to which the sole counterpart in Chaucer is the voluntary offering of "the King of Arabia and of Ynde."

Eek in that lond, as tellen knyghtes olde,
 Ther is som mete that is full deyntee holde,
 That in this lond men recche of it but smal.

It is true that Polo does not mention such food in his account of either feast, but Dr. Skeat points out one passage in which people not clearly distinguished from the Tartars are said to "eat horses, dogs and Pharaoh's rats," and he might have added another in which the inhabitants of the city of Kinsay are said to "eat every kind of flesh, even that of dogs and other unclean beasts, which nothing would induce a Christian to eat" (Polo, II, 147). If this trait were to be found in Polo alone, it would go far to establish a connection between it and the *Squire's Tale*, notwithstanding the difficulties we have thus far examined. But so far is this from being the case that it is contained in almost every account of the Tartars from the time of their first contact with Europeans. Historians and travelers report it, and it is not even omitted from the brief letters in which Hungarian bishops and princes plead for help against this genus hominum monstruosum et inhumanum.¹ Its value as proof of connection between the *Squire's Tale* and Marco Polo is, therefore, like that of any other commonplace, nothing in itself; though it might have some importance as part of a general series of resemblances if such could be established.

Passing to another bit of Tartar local color, we observe that the family of Cambyuskan can hardly be said to be constructed on the model furnished by Polo. We have already

¹ "De forma vivendi dixit [*sc.* Petrus arciepiscopus Russiæ fugatus a Tartaris]; Carnes comedunt jumentinas, caninas et alias abominabiles, et etiam in necessitate humanas, non tamen crudas, sed coctas."—M. Paris, ed. Wats, p. 648; cf. also *Ib.*, 470 and 546. "Rattos etiam et canes edunt et cattos libentissime comedunt."—Vincentii Bellovac. *Spec. Histor.*, lib. xxix, cap. lxxviii; cf. lib. xxix *passim*. "Without difference or distinction they eat all their beasts that die of age or sickness."—W. de Rubruquis, ap. Pinkerton, VIII, 30. "Comedunt enim ranas, canes, et serpentes, et omnia indifferentur."—Letter of a Hungarian Bishop, ap. M. Paris, ed. Wats, *Addimenta*, p. 211.

seen that Kublai has four chief wives—not to mention a multitude of others of whom Polo tells us; and the least attentive reader of Polo would have learned that this was the rule among the Tartars. As to children, instead of the two sons and one daughter of Cambyuskan, Kublai has “by those four wives of his twenty-two male children; the eldest of whom was called Chinkin for the love of the good Chinghis Kaan, the first Lord of the Tartars” (I, 321). “The Great Kaan hath also twenty-five other sons by his concubines” (I, 322).

Whether the name of one of Cambyuskan’s sons, viz., Camballo, was really suggested by some one’s confused mention of Cambaluc, the capital city of Kublai Kaan, I cannot decide. But I wish to emphasize that if Chaucer had Marco Polo’s narrative in mind when he wrote, this adds another to the list of confusions or interchanges of which he was guilty;¹ and that Cambaluc was not infrequently mentioned by other writers on Cathay.

In his remarks on the name Camballo Dr. Skeat makes a suggestion which is very puzzling. He says, “Kublai was succeeded by his grandson Teimur to the exclusion of his elder brothers Kambala and Tarmah. Here we might perhaps think to see the original of Chaucer’s Camballo, but I suspect the real interpretation to be very different. It is far more probable that the name Camballo was caught not from this obscure Kambala, but from the famous word Cambaluc” (III, 472). But if Polo was Chaucer’s authority, he could have known nothing about this Kambala, who is not mentioned at all by Polo, though he is in one of Yule’s notes (I, 322) based on Wassáf.

In his search for a parallel to the “maister tour” in which the sword and the mirour were lodged for safe keeping, Dr. Skeat, after rejecting the two famous towers of the city of Mien, which formed part of a mausoleum, has recourse to the

¹ Polo says distinctly “his capital city of Cambaluc” (I, 309), “the capital city of Cathay, which is called Cambaluc” (*Ib.* 324), cf. also *Ib.* 331, 362, 365, 366, 367, 370, 378, 385, 388, 399; II, 1, 95, &c., &c.

tower standing on an eminence in the city of Kinsay, and used as a watch-tower. "At the top of the tower," says Polo, "is hung a slab of wood. Whenever fire or any other alarm breaks out in the city, a man who stands there with a mallet in his hand beats upon the slab, making a noise that is heard to a great distance" (I, 148-9). Perhaps more to the point would have been another passage (II, 147): "The houses of the City are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire;" but as good an origin of the tower could have been found nearer home.¹

There remains, I believe, only the Dry Tree. It is undeniable that a dry tree is mentioned by both writers; but Chaucer's dry tree differs from Polo's more than from almost any other description of the famous *Arbre Sec* or *Arbre Sol*.² I am far from asserting that Chaucer's dry tree was not suggested by some distorted account of this descendant of the tree that Seth saw in Paradise; such an assertion would be hazardous in the unfinished state of the Tale, especially in view of theories of its allegorical significance.³ But if it was suggested by Polo's account, Chaucer has played the same sort of trick with it that he played with *Cambyuskan* and *Camballo* and the feast and the tower. Chaucer's tree, for example, was "fordrye, as whyt as chalk;" Marco Polo's account is as follows:—"It [*i. e.* the Desert] also contains an immense plain on which is found the *ARBRE SOL*, which we Christians call the *ARBRE SEC*; and I will tell you what it is like. It is a tall and thick tree, having the bark on one side green and the other white; and it produces a rough husk like that of a chestnut, but without anything in it. The wood

¹ Towers were in mediæval Europe the usual places for keeping treasures, cf. *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* (EETS), p. 191.

² Yule's notes on the *Arbre Sec* (*Polo*, I, 120, and II, 397) will furnish or lead to the multitudinous occurrences of the Dry Tree in mediæval literature.

³ It is to be hoped that the dry tree which Sir Bors saw in his dream (*Morte d'Arthur*, capp. lxxii and lxxvii) will not suggest the allegorizing of the one which Canacee found in the park,—though birds come into the former story too.

is yellow like box, and very strong, and there are no other trees near it nor within a hundred miles of it, except on one side where you find trees within about ten miles' distance. And there, the people of the country tell you, was fought the battle between Alexander and King Darius."¹

It seems clear, upon reviewing the whole problem, that if Chaucer used Marco Polo's narrative, he either carelessly or intentionally confused all the features of the setting that could possibly be confused, and retained not a single really characteristic trait of any person, place or event. It is only by twisting everything that any part of Chaucer's story can be brought into relation with any part of Polo's. To do this might be allowable, if any rational explanation could be given for Chaucer's supposed treatment of his "author," or if there were any scarcity of sources from which Chaucer might have obtained as much information about Tartary as he seems really to have possessed; but such an explanation would be difficult to devise, and there is no such scarcity. Any one of half a dozen accessible accounts could be distorted into almost if not quite as great resemblance to the *Squire's Tale* as Marco Polo's can. Herzberg has already pointed out some, though not all, of the resemblances afforded by Maundeville's *Voyage*. Almost if not quite as many could be produced from the short but extremely popular² narrative of Odoric of Pordenone; cf., e. g., Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, 47, 54, 128, 130-132, 135, 141, where are mentioned the Dry Tree (in a mosque), the tower (of Babel), wonderful mechanical devices, the palace (with its park containing the Green Mount, birds and wild animals), jesters, musicians, falcons, and a description of a feast that is worth quoting in a note.³

¹ Marco Polo, I, 119; in other passages it is barely mentioned, II, 396, 405, 406.

² Yule, *Cathay*, I, 18.

³ "Every year that emperor keepeth four great feasts, to wit, the day of his birth, that of his circumcision, and so forth. To these festivals he summons all his barons and all his players and all his kinsfolk; and all these have their established places at the festival. But it is especially at

William de Rubruquis has already been quoted in regard to the food of the Tartars; he also gives many remarks on the invasion of Russia, an account of Zinghis Khan, speaks of Sarai¹ and the palace, mentions soothsayers and falcons, and tells of a visit to Caracarum by the Ambassadors of a Soldan of India.² Vincent of Beauvais devotes the whole of bk. xxix and a part of bk. xxx of the *Speculum Historiale* to the Tartars, see especially lib. xxix, capp. lxix, lxxi, lxxiv, lxxv, lxxviii, lxxx, lib. xxx, capp. iii, iiii, vii, viii, xiii, xxxii. Matthew Paris' *Historia Major* also contains a good deal of information about the Tartars besides that already quoted in regard to their food; as indeed do most chronicles that cover the period of their ascendancy.

the days of his birth and circumcision that he expects all to attend. And when summoned to such a festival all the barons come with their coronets on, whilst the emperor is seated on his throne, as has been described above, and all the barons are ranged in order in their appointed places. Now these barons are arrayed in divers colours; for some, who are the first in order, wear green silk; the second are clothed in crimson; the third in yellow. And all these have coronets on their heads and each holds in his hand a white ivory tablet and wears a golden girdle of half a span in breadth; and so they remain standing and silent. And round about them stand the players with their banners and ensigns. And in one corner of a certain great palace abide the philosophers, who keep watch for certain hours and conjunctions; and when the hour and conjunction waited for by the philosophers arrives, one of them calls out with a loud voice, saying: 'Prostrate yourselves before the emperor, our mighty lord!' [Then the minstrels play.] And after this all those of the princely families parade with white horses. And a voice is heard calling: 'Such an one of such a family to present so many hundreds of white horses to the lord;' and then some of them come forward saying that they bring two hundred horses (say) to offer to the lord, which are ready before the palace. . . . And then come the barons to offer presents of different kinds on behalf of the other barons of the empire. [Then occur performances by singing men and women and mummers and jugglers.]"

¹ Sarai is mentioned by many writers; Pascal of Vittoria, for example (*Cathay*, I, 231), and Hayton the Armenian, whose history of Tartary was written in French in 1307 (cf. *Cathay*, I, cxxxi).

² W. de Rubruquis, in Pinkerton, VIII, 30, 40, 43, 44, 54, 57, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89.

I do not propose these, or any of these, be it understood, as the source of Chaucer's information—or misinformation. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that if Chaucer really used any account of Tartary that is well known to-day, he used it as he used no other of his sources.

Personally I can hardly resist the conviction that Chaucer found all his characters named and his scene laid in the source—written or oral¹—from which he derived his plot. The principal argument that drives me to this conclusion is the name *Canacee*. Only two reasons could explain his use of that name for his heroine; one, that he wished to rehabilitate the name,—but the motive for this is hard to divine, and so late as the composition of the *Man of Law's Head-Link* he seems to have had no such intention; the other, that he found the name in his original.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY.

¹Brandl suggests (*Engl. Studien*, XII, 163), with much plausibility, that the visit of the Armenian King Leo to London in 1385-6 may have contributed to arouse Chaucer's interest in the far East (if Sarai can properly be so-called); it may even be that his knowledge of Tartary came mainly from the common talk connected with that event. I hope myself ere long to publish a paper dealing, among other things, with the question of Chaucer's relations to some men who had traveled a good deal.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1896.

VOL. XI, 4.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IV, 4.

XVI.—SHAKESPEARE'S PRESENT INDICATIVE &-
ENDINGS WITH PLURAL SUBJECTS: A STUDY
IN THE GRAMMAR OF THE FIRST FOLIO.

I.

I purpose in the following paper to proffer an explanation of such constructions as "My old bones *aches*" (*Tempest*, III, 3), "All his successors (gone before him) *hath* done 't" (*Merry Wives*, I, 1), "Ill deeds *is* doubled with an evil word" (*Errors*, III, 2), "As the events *stamps* them" (*Much Ado*, I, 2), "Their drenched natures *lies* as in a death" (*Macbeth*, I, 7), "Whereon his brains still beating *puts* him thus" (*Hamlet*, III, 1), "And great affections wrestling in thy bosom *Doth* make an earthquake of nobility" (*King John*, v, 2).¹

I have based my study on the Folio of 1623, and have noted not only every occurrence of this construction, but the occurrence as well of all other constructions that throw light upon it. It is to be regretted that the First Folio Edition of

¹ The use of a singular predicate with a compound subject—"And the flax and the barley *was* smitten" (*Exodus*, ix, 31)—is, of course, an entirely different construction. Though not sanctioned by good usage to-day, *was* in such cases is easily explained. See § III.

Shakespeare, aptly styled "the most interesting and valuable book in the whole range of English literature," is not more accessible and familiar in its original form to all students of the great dramatist.

As it is, less is known of Shakespeare's grammar than of Chaucer's. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* is a collection merely of so-called irregularities, the attempts at comprehensive generalization being as few as they are infelicitous. And the editors of the Globe Edition have so wantonly tampered with the dramatist's language in some passages, while leaving the same idiom intact in others, that the grammar of the First Folio seems to me more consistent with itself than is the grammar of the Globe Edition. Nor can the student of Shakespeare read even cursorily Professor Paul's masterly *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* without the conviction that in the Elizabethan age grammatical categories were far more closely in accord with psychological categories than is the case with our own more formal and "correct" methods of expression.

Shakespeare's pages contain not a few locutions that must have made Lindley Murray stare and gasp. But to Lindley Murray language was the *garb*, to Shakespeare, the *incarnation*, of thought.

Ever since the days of Queen Anne our language has suffered more and more from the arbitrary *dicta* of grammarians who, under the lead of the classical languages, have steadily divorced expression from thought, the principles of grammar from the principles of psychology, and who, in the words of Sir Philip Sydney, "wil correct the Verbe before they understand the Noun."

To return to the citations given, it will be seen that there are two endings, functioning as plurals, that call for explanation, *-s* and *-th*. The latter as a plural is confined chiefly to *doth* and *hath*, but *-s*, though exceptional, occurs about one hundred times with a plural subject.

The explanation hitherto¹ offered of this construction is that in -s we have a case of borrowing from the Northumbrian or Northern dialect of England; that in -th we have a similar borrowing from the West-Saxon or Southern dialect.

The recourse to the theory of borrowing, as a means of disposing of syntactic or of philological difficulties, is as facile as it is unsafe. The history of English Philology as well as of Historical English Grammar, is full of instances where the theory of borrowing has had to give way before the results of more adequate investigation—investigation directed chiefly along the line of analogy or of phonetics.

In the construction before us, the recourse to borrowing fails where its aid is most needed; for neither Northern nor Southern influence, properly interpreted, can explain the origin of *is* and *was* as plural forms. Yet they are found here and there in almost every Elizabethan author. It may be true, as Mr. Lounsbury says,² that in some of the Northern dialects,³ *is* was early used for all persons of the present singular and plural, and *was* for the same numbers and persons of the preterite." He adds that "From that quarter *is* sometimes made its way into the language of literature, especially in the writings of the Elizabethan dramatists." But *is* and *was* may be found as plural predicates in the *Anglo-Saxon*

¹Several months after the reading of this paper my attention was called to a dissertation by Statius Spekker, *Ueber die Kongruenz des Subjekts und des Prädikats in der Sprache Shakespeares* (Bremen, 1881), in which the author attempts to explain all the difficulties of concord that occur in Shakespeare by a simple appeal to the *constructio ad sensum* theory. The reader will hardly believe into what forced straits Spekker is driven in his efforts to apply this theory to all the recalcitrant sentences that he cites. I have tried to show that Shakespeare's syntax *was* governed more by sense than *is* the syntax of nineteenth century English. But to proffer this view as an explanation of *all* apparent incongruities of concord is to surrender oneself to the most palpable absurdities. So far as I know, Spekker is the only scholar who goes to this extreme.

²*English Lang.*, II, 474.

³But not in the literary dialect as represented by Barbour, King James, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndesay.

Chronicle, centuries before anyone has ever yet claimed Northern influence.

Dr. Kellner¹ dismisses the subject even more briefly still: "Most of the irregularities turning up in Middle English, and even in the sixteenth century, may be simply accounted for by the fact that not only the endings *-es* and *-eth*, but also *is* and *was* were used both in the singular and in the plural." No one who has read a hundred pages of Elizabethan literature can doubt the occasional occurrence of these forms as plurals. The only problem is to explain their origin.

Dr. Kellner quotes Zupitza, who in his edition of *Guy of Warwick* (15th century version, East Midland dialect) affirms that *was* occurs as a plural,² nothing being said, however, as to the origin of the construction.

But even if it were conceded that the Northumbrian dialect first developed *is* and *was* as plural forms, and that they spread thence into standard English, the question of origin would still confront us; for the Northumbrian dialect began its career,—as did the West Midland, East Midland, and Southern dialects,—with *is* for its third singular present and *was* for its third singular preterit. Prof. Albert S. Cook, of Yale Uni-

¹*Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 89.

²Zupitza's remark is an illustration of the meaningless statements that are so often made about the use of a singular predicate with a plural subject. Discussions of this subject will continue to be worthless until the following four sentence-types are rigidly kept apart:

1. *They live here* (= pronominal subject).
2. *The men live here* (= substantival subject).
3. *They* (or, *The men*) *who live here* (= relative pronoun as subject).
4. *Here live they* (or, *the men*) (= inverted subject).

Shakespeare never uses a singular predicate in No. 1; but in 2, 3, and 4, the singular occurs with *crescendo* frequency.

Zupitza (*l. c.*: Note to l. 253), to prove that "*was* occurs as a plural," cites two sentences that fall under type 4: "*There was few there so hardy*;" and three that fall under type 3: "*All myght here, þat was þerynne*." He then considers himself justified in altering "*The leche was wyse*" to "*The lechys was wyse*," deeming a change of *was* to *were* unnecessary in view of the citations just made. But these citations miss the mark, for his contention relates to type 2, whereas the citations relate to types 3 and 4.

versity, whose knowledge of Old Northumbrian entitles him to speak with authority, writes me that "In the Northumbrian Gospels, the occurrence of forms apparently singular for the present indicative plural of the verb *to be* is wholly sporadic, and I regard them as mere scribal blunders. There is no *is* for plural that I know of, and no *was* for *weron*, *wæron*. The Ritual has no such instances."

If, therefore, there has been a borrowing from the Northern dialect, from whence did the Northern dialect itself borrow the forms in question? Is it not evident that the more rational explanation, indeed the only explanation, of this construction must be sought not in borrowing from any source whatsoever, but in some deeper principle of syntactic change?

II.

It must be remembered that in Elizabethan times, *-s* and *-th* were the established endings of the third person singular, present indicative. They were used interchangeably (though only *-th* occurs in the King James Version of the Bible, 1611) by both poets and prose-writers. I shall try, then, to show that in *is*, *was*, *-s* and *-th*, used with plural subjects, we have not instances of borrowing, but evidence rather of a tendency on the part of the third indicative singular, unchecked by the formal laws of a grammar-making age,¹ to establish itself as the norm, and thus to usurp the place held by the indicative plural. I believe that this tendency, due of course to the great preponderance in daily usage of the singular over the plural, may be traced in every period of our language, more especially, however, in the Middle English and Elizabethan periods.

¹ The prevalent ignorance of Historical English Grammar during the seventeenth century is amusingly shown in Ben Jonson's explaining *have*, in "It is preposterous to execute a man before he *have* been condemned," as an exception to the rule that singular nouns require singular verbs. And even Dryden criticises Jonson for using *his* instead of *its*.

But "If theories about the origin of things are not to be worthless," says Jespersen,¹ "they must on every point be substantiated by analogies from processes going on nowadays, and capable of direct observation and control."

Let us turn, therefore, to the language of children and of illiterate adults, in whose speech the influence of analogy can be most clearly seen. "I *seed* him," "I *runned* away," &c., have often been cited as examples of analogical formations due to the preponderance in every-day speech of weak over strong verbs. But it seems to me that the most interesting example of analogy to be found in the speech of the illiterate has been, so far as I know, overlooked. It is not hard, for example, to find children, even in educated families, whose present indicative runs thus: "I sees, you sees, he sees; we sees, you sees, they sees." My open window has not infrequently regaled me with such bits of street colloquy as, "I lives here. Where does you live?" "We lives in the city" [New Orleans].²

Now, what has taken place? The third singular, heard more frequently by the child than any other form of the verb, has been extended by analogy both to the plural and to the other persons of the singular. The same thing has happened in the case of *is* and *was*. Their greater frequency of usage has, among the illiterate, almost banished the plurals *are* and *were*. The following citations are taken from *Uncle Remus*, by Joel Chandler Harris:

"En dar you *is*, en dar you'll stay twel I *fixes* up a bresh-pile and *fires* her up."

"Dey *goes* in, an' dar dey er tooken and dar dey *hangs* on twel you *shakes* de box, an' den dey *draps* out."

"Dey *wuz* [was] de fatter' niggers in de settlement."

"Let 'lone w'at I *is* now."

"Yo' mammy'll spishun dat de rats' stummucks *is* widenin' in dis naberhood."

"W'en de nashuns of de earf *is* a stanin' all aroun'."

¹ *Progress in Language*, p. 63.

² Launce (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, 4) says: "I . . . knew it was Crab, and goes me to the fellow that whips the dog."

Scores of other examples of this principle might be given from humorous tales, and from dialect stories of every locality. In one short paragraph of Miss Edgeworth's *Dublin Shoeblack*, there occur seven examples of this transferred third singular; and almost a proportionate number may be found in the pages of Mark Twain, Robt. J. Burdette, Bret Harte, M. Quad, Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, and other writers who imitate the lingo of low life.

But English is not the only language that furnishes illustrations. A striking confirmation of the expulsive power of the singular when pitted against the plural is found in the modern dialects of Scandinavia. Dr. J. A. Lundell¹ declares that in these dialects the indicative plural forms are on the wane; that in Norway, a singular predicate is usually employed with a plural subject; and that in the Finnish, Swedish, and Danish dialects, a singular predicate is invariably employed with a plural subject.²

¹*Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, v.

²The natural trend of the mind seems to be toward the conception of unity rather than of plurality. Many words show the result of this bunching process. Thus *gallows* was plural in Middle English, but is singular now, presumably because it no longer connotes the several parts composing the framework of a gallows, these parts being now fused by the mind into a single conception. The German words *Ostern*, *Pfingsten*, *Weihnachten*, old plurals, are now singulars. Latin *litterae*, meaning *letters* of the alphabet combined into an epistle, has passed into Italian *lettera* and French *lettre*, both singular. And Latin *minaciae* is French *menace*, Italian *minaccia*. Greek *βιβλία*, Latin *biblia*, *little books*, has become singular in all modern languages.

Shakespeare frequently bunched his numerals: "Look where three farthings goes" (*King John*, I, 1). Cf. modern English, *a dozen*, *a score*, *a fortnight*, *a hundred*, *a thousand*, in which *a* still suggests the Early West-Saxon singular construction with the larger numerals. In Wülfing's *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, Pt. I (Bonn, 1894), it is shown that the larger numerals, being followed by the partitive genitive and regarded as collective nouns, could take a singular as well as a plural predicate. They could be preceded even by a singular demonstrative. Thus in *Boethius* (559, 36) we find "þæt feowertig daga ær Cristes gebyrd tide, & þæt feowertig daga æfter Pentecosten" = That forty (of) days, &c.

III.

It must not be forgotten that in Elizabethan English, as used by even the most scholarly writers, any compound subject, however numerous its singular members, could take a singular predicate. It follows, therefore, that the relative number of third singular indicatives then employed was far in excess of the number now employed, and that consequently the influence of the third singular in analogical formations was proportionately increased.¹ Thus Shakespeare writes "My shame and guilt *confounds* me" (*Two Gentlemen*, v, 4), "As art and practice *hath* enriched any" (*Measure for Measure*, I, 1), "All disquiet, horror, and perturbation *follows* her" (*Much Ado*, II, 1), "Which simpleness and merit *purchaseth*" (*Ib.*, III, 1), "When his disguise and he *is* parted" (*As You Like It*, III, 6), "The loss, the gain, the ordering on't, *is* all Properly ours" (*Winter's Tale*, II, 1).

The verb is not always to be construed as agreeing with the last member of the compound subject, for frequently the separate members constitute but one psychological subject. There is a sentence in *Hamlet* that well illustrates the psychological unity that characterizes many of Shakespeare's compound subjects. Hamlet says that the function of the drama

¹ The operation of analogy may sometimes be due simply to contiguity, or association. Cf. the frequent use of *says I* in juxtaposition with *says he*.

In an old poem on the *Death of Washington*, there occur these lines (*Ulster Co. Gazette*, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1800):

"What means that solemn dirge, that strikes mine ear?
What *means* those solemn sounds—why shines the tear?"

The clearest example that I find in Shakespeare is in *Winter's Tale*, iv, 4:

"Not . . . for all the sun sees, or
The close earth wombs, or the profound *seas hides*
In unknown fathoms, will I break my oath."

It is evident that the use of the singular predicate in *seas hides* is due to the parallelism of *sun sees* and *earth wombs*.

is "To hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time *his* form and pressure" (III, 2). The use of *his* instead of *their* shows that in Shakespeare's mind "age and body" constituted but a single idea. Other examples are, "Both wind and tide [= weather] *stays* for this gentleman" (*Comedy of Errors*, v, 1), "She being none of your flesh and blood, your flesh and blood *has*¹ not offended the king; and so your flesh and blood *is* not to be punished" (*Winter's Tale*, iv, 4), "Time and the hour *runs* through the roughest day" (*Macbeth*, i, 3).

Unfortunately, the use of a singular predicate with a compound subject, logically singular though formally plural, is falling into disuse. Yet Tennyson writes "My hope and heart *is* with thee," and even Macaulay says that "The poetry and eloquence of the Augustan age *was* assiduously studied." The idiom was almost a mannerism with Puttenham. By rejecting the singular in such constructions, modern English seems to me to lose in psychological truth what it gains in grammatical uniformity.

But even when the members of a compound subject mean entirely different things, the predicate may, in Elizabethan grammar, remain in the singular, agreeing in number with the last member. This construction, though outlawed now, was very common in Elizabethan times. Thus, we find "Our master and mistress *seeks* you" (*As You Like It*, v, 1), "Your father and my uncle *hath* made motions" (*Merry Wives*, III, 4), "Thou and I *am* one" (*As You Like It*, i, 3), "Where oxlips and the nodding violet *grows*" (*Mid. N. D.*, II, 2). In the following sentence from John Hawkins² (1571), we can

¹Cf. *Matthew*, xvi, 17. In his *Revisers' English*, Mr. Moon grows insurgent and lachrymose over "where moth and rust *doth* corrupt," and Tucker (*Our Common Speech*, p. 85) thinks a ten-year-old boy ought to be ashamed of it.

²See Arber's *English Garner*, v, 334.

clearly see that the writer is thinking of his subject members not conjointly but separately :¹ "The Duke of Medina, and the Duke of Alva *hath, every* [= each] of them, one of the same pardons." On the same grounds I should justify the verb in this sentence from the pen of a distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar: "The literature of Old English is chiefly extant in West Saxon, though the poetry, and [= as well as] some of the prose, *contains* forms from other dialects."

With this wide extension, then, of the limits of the third singular, as compared with its domain in the grammar of more modern English, it is not surprising that the singular predicates showed a disposition to encroach upon the territory of the plural predicates. If the grammar of the day allowed the Elizabethan author to say "My right hand and my left hand *hurts* me," it is not to be wondered at that *hurts* should become a sort of norm, and play the part of predicate in "My hands *hurts* me."

That such a construction has failed to perpetuate itself in the standard language of to-day signifies nothing. Many analogical formations have suffered a similar fate. *Beared* for *bore*, *choosed* for *chose*, *drawed* for *drew*, *spinned* for *spun*, *swimmed* for *swam*, and *throwed* for *threw* were in good use until about the year 1650. And not more than a hundred years ago, *you was* bade fair to displace *you were* in the writings even of the elect.

¹ When an Elizabethan writer wished his multiple subject to be carried over as a plural to the predicate, and not broken up into its parts, he frequently employed the so-called redundant pronouns:

"Virtue and grace,
With steadfastness,
They be the base
Of her support."

Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, p. 110.

They supplements the copulative force of *and*, which was weakened by such constructions as "Thou and I *am* one."

IV.

(1). Moreover, a clear conception of the expansive tendency and expulsive power of the third singular, by which it came to be looked upon as the norm of all affirmations made in the tense of the present indicative, enables us easily to account for the seeming incongruities occurring in SHAKESPEARE'S RELATIVE CLAUSES. Only a few illustrations are necessary:

"Those crisped, snaky, golden locks,
Which makes such wanton gambols with the wind."
(*Merchant of Venice*, III, 2.)

The plural idea, having to pass through *which*, is weakened before it reaches the predicate. The multiple rays reunite into a single ray. The predicate, therefore, reverts to, or rather retains, the normal form. The singularizing influence of relative pronouns is as marked in the popular speech of to-day as it is in the language of Shakespeare. It is far easier, for example, to find a singular predicate with a plural relative in Shakespeare, than it is to find a singular predicate with a plural noun. And the reason is obvious, for the farther the speaker or writer advances from his original plural (the antecedent of the relative), the weaker becomes the plural conception, and all the stronger grows the tendency on the part of the predicate to drop into the dominant conventional form of the third singular. Note this citation from Chaucer (*Monk's Prologue*, Harl. ms., No. 7334, lines 15459-'63). Tragedy is defined as,

"A certeyn storie,
As olde bookes maken us memorie,
Of hem that stood¹ in greet prosperité,
And is y-fallen out of heigh degré
Into miserie, and endith wrecchedly."

¹ *Stood* is either singular or plural (see Ten Brink's *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, § 193). That we cannot emend *hem* to *him* is shown by the opening sentence of the *Monk's Tale*. Also in the *Tale of Melibeus* (Harl. ms.),

A somewhat similar illustration is found in *John*, VII, 49 :

"But this people who *knoweth* not the law *are* cursed."¹

Only one more example will be given from Shakespeare :

"Winds
That *shakes* not, though they blow perpetually."
(*Taming of the Shrew*, II, 1.)

(2). Again, this view of the third singular would seem to suggest an explanation of certain divergencies from the concord, not only of number, but of person. These divergencies occur, also, most frequently in relative clauses. Thus Chaucer writes (*Knight's Tale*, lines 878-'9) :

"It am I
That *loveth* so hote Emelye the brighte."

Here the dominant third singular has crossed the boundary, not of number but of person.

A slightly different example is

"But now ye seek to kill me, a man that *hath* told you the truth, which I have heard of God" (*John*, VIII, 40).

From Shakespeare we have,

"My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
Who *hither comes* engaged by my oath."
(*Richard II*, I, 3.)

"Thou . . . *that calls* for company."
(*Taming of the Shrew*, IV, 1.)

"To make me proud *that jests*."
(*Love's Labours Lost*, V, 2.)

"For it is you *that puts* us to our shifts."
(*Titus Andronicus*, IV, 2.)

"O Lord *that lends* me life."
2 *Henry VI*, I, 1.)

the same construction occurs: "For the lawe seith, upon thinges *that* newly *bitydeth*, bihoveth newe counseil."

I have no doubt that the absence of plural endings in our relative pronouns has aided the singularizing influence that they exert upon their predicates.

¹ Cf. "Ond se dæl þe þær aweg com *wurdon* on fleame generede."—*Chronicle*. A. D. 894.

And Mr. Swinburne writes,

"Mary, *that is* so sweet,
Bring us to thy Son's feet."

"Mary, *that wieldeth* land,
Bring us to thy Son's hand."

(*A Christmas Carol.*)

(3). I should explain in the same way the genesis of *Here is*, *There was*, *There has been*, &c., followed by plural subjects. Such constructions have characterized our language from the earliest period. The singular doubtless originated from cases in which the subject had not been clearly thought out in the speaker's mind,¹ the predicate assuming, therefore, the normal or colorless type. The third singular was used *pro tem.*; then, by frequency of usage, the singular became, as it were, the fixed or uninflected form in popular speech. Cf. "*Exit* duke and lords" (*Mid. N. D.*, iv, 1)—a frequent use of *exit* in the Folio.

I have tried to show, then, in the limited space at my disposal:

I. That, as an historical explanation of the construction discussed, the recourse to the theory of Northumbrian borrowing is both insufficient and unnecessary.

II. That these s-predicates are nothing more than the ordinary third singulars of the present indicative, which, by preponderance of usage, have caused a partial displacement of the distinctively plural forms, the same operation of analogy finding abundant illustrations in the popular speech of to-day.

III. That, in Shakespeare's time, the number and corresponding influence of the third singulars were far greater than now, inasmuch as compound subjects could be followed by singular predicates.

¹ Frequently the subject is not expressed at all: "There's for thy pains" (*Much Ado*, v, 1), "Here is for thy pains" (*Two Gentlemen*, I, 1).

IV. That other apparent anomalies of concord to be found in Shakespeare's syntax,—anomalies that elude the reach of any theory that postulates borrowing,—may also be adequately explained on the principle of the DOMINANT THIRD SINGULAR.

C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

XVII.—ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
ITALIAN: THE TITLES OF SUCH WORKS NOW
FIRST COLLECTED AND ARRANGED, WITH
ANNOTATIONS.

II. TRANSLATIONS OF POETRY, PLAYS, AND
METRICAL ROMANCES.

INTRODUCTION.

The first Italian grammar published in England, in 1550, written by William Thomas, clerk of the Council to King Edward VI. and one of the first Protestant victims of the succeeding reign, contains "a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante." The title indicates that the great Italian poets of the *trecento* were first studied by English readers, and Boccaccio and Petrarch are here named before Dante. Indeed, after a most careful search, I cannot find any Elizabethan translation of any work of Dante. The first English translation of Dante in the *British Museum Catalogue* is that of Henry Boyd, *L'Inferno*, in 1785, *La Divina Commedia*, in 1802.

I remember that my own Italian studies began with Dante, and that the *Inferno* was to me at once grammar, dictionary, literature, and history. Very naturally from this point of view it was a great surprise to me at the beginning to find no trace of the noble poet in all the outpouring of the English spirit towards Italy during the reign of Elizabeth. But as the subject has cleared up before me the explanation seems self-evident. Dante is not a romantic story-teller, his story-telling is real,

Life struck sharp on death.

Dante precedes the Renaissance. Petrarch sheds a glowing light upon it, but belongs to the company of Dante; it is

Boccaccio who leads the way into it, and Ariosto who is its poet. To put it in another way, although the 16th century in English literature corresponds in a sense to the 13th in Italian, yet it is the Italian writers from Boccaccio to Tasso who produced the most profound impression on the Elizabethans. The accompanying list of translations shows that Ariosto was far and away the most popular Italian poet with the Elizabethans, with Tasso a close second. Of Boiardo I note one translation, although I am unable to say whether Robert Tofte's *Orlando Inamorato* was made from Boiardo's original, or, as is very likely, from Francesco Berni's *rifacimento*. Tofte also translated Ariosto's *Satires*, but I have met with no attempt to render into English the *bonhomie* and wit and mocking irony of what is commonly known as 'Bernesque' poetry. Thomas Nash, "the English Aretine," could have done it best of the Elizabethans, and his, *The Praise of the Red Herring* (*Lenten Stuff*), is probably as 'Bernesque' as anything we have in English. The development of satirical poetry, however, requires a different literary spirit, a different national temper, from that of the Elizabethans.

A more remarkable omission and one akin to Dante's absence from this company of poets, is the absence from it also of the great lyrists of the *trecento*, Cino da Pistoia, Guido Cavalcante, and Lapo Gianni, all friends of Dante and all lyric poets of high rank. Even of Petrarch, apart from the boyish work of Spenser, and the sonnet cult, represented here by Thomas Watson's *Passionate Centurie of Loue*, a series of poems which are not sonnets at all, it is only the *Penitential Psalms* and the allegorical *Trionfi* that get translated. Clearly Italian lyrical poetry of the best type did not appeal to the translators, in spite of the intensely lyrical quality of Elizabethan dramatic literature. Just where the Elizabethan poets got their singing forms, so far as they are imitative of Italian models, I am not prepared to say. Doubtless one source was the popularity of the prose-poetical romance, the *cantefable*, like Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, the prototype of Sir Philip Sidney's

Arcadia, Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers*, and other collections of the sort.

The *ballate* and *madrigali* scattered throughout Greene's novels are imitated from Boccaccio and Ser Giovanni and Sacchetti. Of these three, Franco Sacchetti was the most spontaneous lyricist. He wrote charming songs and sometimes set them to music himself. One of his canzonets,

O vaghe montanine pasturelle,

was so popular among all classes that it was transmitted orally for many generations. The poetry of Robert Greene and Nicholas Breton, and such anthologies as *England's Helicon* show how the Elizabethans were fascinated by the gaiety and sweetness of just such songs of spring-time and ring-time as Sacchetti and Ser Giovanni wrote. So that an even more fruitful source of lyric form must have arisen out of the cultivation of music at the Court, and especially of the canzonet and the madrigal. William Byrd and Thomas Morley, both organists to the Chapel Royal, were prolific composers of madrigals, and the numerous song-books and books of airs of the period attest the popularity and the excellence of this species of musical composition.

On the stage, the influence of the pastoral drama must be taken into account, an influence which is apparent from the short list of translations of plays here cited. It will be seen that translations of the pastoral drama largely predominate. This may seem an odd result to arrive at, pitted against the fact that the masque, however successful in the hands of Ben Jonson and Shirley, yet never became acclimatized on the English stage. But it bears out the history of the relation between the Italian and the English dramas. The one form of dramatic art that the Italians have cultivated with the most success is the pastoral drama, and its outcome, the opera. By the time of Elizabeth, the Italians in *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*, had nothing more to learn in the art of pastoral poetry; of their kind, these two dramas are perfect. By this time

also they had accumulated considerable dramatic furniture in both tragedy and comedy. The great names of Trissino and Ariosto and Macchiavelli are stamped on it, and a good deal of talent and some genius undoubtedly went into its manufacture. But it was and is a purely artificial drama, smacking everywhere of Plautus and Terence and Seneca. The English playwrights of Elizabeth's time had no need to go to the Italians for models of plays, for they were themselves conscious of having developed a nobler drama than had been produced in Italy. Thomas Heywood, an intelligent and sound critic of the dramatic art, in the Prologue to his *Challenge for Beauty*, says :—

Those (i. e. plays) that frequent are
In Italy or France, even in these days,
Compared with ours, are rather *jigs* than plays.

By jigs he means the love of pageantry of the Italians, their mixing of comedy and music and the ballet. When Lucrezia Borgia went to Ferrara, in 1502, as the bride of Alfonso d'Este, Duke Ercole I. gave a marriage entertainment of extraordinary splendor to the young couple. It was spread out over five days, and each night a different comedy of Plautus was presented, embellished with musical interludes and ballets on classical and allegorical subjects. Plautus with a ballet was a species of comedy that could have had no place at the Globe or the Blackfriars, and the tragedy of *Gorboduc* fortunately had no successors.

What the Elizabethans took from the Italians then was not directly, either their lyric forms or their dramatic feeling, but it was ideas, passion, grace, and gusto, those spiritual qualities whose union in the romantic drama is so picturesque, so fine, and so indescribable. Together with the political sagacity of the English people, developing the state as a unit and creating a single standard of taste, together with their clearer moral insight, these qualities produced Shakspeare.

Because then this list of Italian poets omits Dante, because it omits the great lyrists his contemporaries, because, with the exception of the *Supposes* and *Jocasta*, it omits the Italian comedy and tragedy of the *cinque cento*, it would be a great mistake to conclude that there is no vital relation between the Italians of the Renaissance and English poetry. So far as poetry fulfils the definition of Keats,

'The great end
Of poesy, that it should be a friend,
To soothe the cares and lift the thoughts of man,

the list more than satisfies the test. In English poetry it stretches away out before the Elizabethans and long after them. It recalls Chaucer and Lydgate and Gascoigne and Turberville and Watson and Fairfax and Fletcher and Spenser and Shakspeare and Dryden and Pope and Goldsmith and Byron and Keats, most of them seated with the immortals and all of them poets who have 'lifted the thoughts of man.'

At the end of the bibliography of English poetry, I add thirteen London and Oxford publications during the period in Italian and Latin verse, and a few corrigenda of my first paper, on translations of romances in prose. Since that paper went to print I have met with a few more prose romances, making altogether seventy-three now, and my lists of both translators and translations have considerably increased. The translators now number two hundred and ten, and the translations three hundred and thirty-five, so that the miscellaneous books which will form the subject of the third paper are about two score more in number than the prose romances and poetical pieces put together.

The literature here brought together has been most carefully collected from many different sources in English, Italian, French, German, and Latin, and although I am aware of my limitations, I think I may safely say that there does not exist anywhere so complete a presentation of this part of my subject as I now make. Wherever possible I have given the full

titles, for the sake of accuracy and clearness, and at all events all the titles are as complete as I could make them with the resources at my command. Every title, in whatever language, has been verified, when possible, from the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, so far as that catalogue has as yet been published. Similarly such of the titles as are to be found in the Huth lists have been verified, and I have personally examined some of the books in the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore. The words 'British Museum,' 'Huth,' and 'Peabody' at the end of the colophons indicate my own verifications. The Bodleian lists are not accessible to me, nor the Britwell, but as many of these publications are extremely rare, I have thought it best to give all the information I have met with as to their present abiding-places. I do not, however, vouch for the correctness of the information, except as I explain. I should explain further that my plan has been to give the title of the first English edition, or first extant English edition, in full, and to mention the dates of all subsequent reprints and editions in English. Of the Italian or Latin originals, I give simply the first edition. The annotations are descriptive mainly, they are purposely as brief as possible, and wherever I could give over my own notes for illustrative material from the English or Italian poets I have been glad to do so.

The three indexes, of titles and of authors' names, sum up the whole paper briefly, and will, I hope, be found useful for ready reference.

a. POETRY.

1527. *Here begynneth the boke of Johan bochas discryuinge the falle of pr̄cis princessis and other nobles; tr̄slated into Englysshe by J. Lydgate, monk of Bury, begynning at Adam and Eve, and endyng with Kyng John of Fraunce taken prisoner at Poyters by Prince Edward.* [In verse.]

R. Pynson: London. 1527. Folio. Black letter. *British Museum* title. Second edition.

A Treatise excellent and compèdious, shewing and declaring, in maner of Tragedye, the falles of sondry most notable Princes and Princesses with other Nobles, through ye mutabilitie and change of unstedfast Fortune together with their most detestable & wicked vices. First compyled in Latin by the excellent Clerke Bocatius, an Italian borne. And sence that tyme translated into our English and Vulgare tong, by Dan John Lidgate Monke of Burye. And nowe newly imprinted, corrected, and augmented out of diuerse and sundry olde writen copies in parchment. In aedibus Richardi Tottelli. Cum privilegio. [Colophon.]

Imprinted at London in Fletestrete within Temple barre at the signe of the hande and starre, by Richard Tottel, the x. day of September in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1554. Cum Priuilegio, &c. Folio. Black letter. Woodcuts. *British Museum.*

In verse, containing also the *Daunce of Machabree*, translated by Lydgate from the French into English verse. *Huth Library* title. Third edition.

The tragedies, gathered by John Bochas, of all such Princes as fell from theyr estates throughe the mutability of Fortune since the creacion of Adam, until his time: wherin may be seen what vices bring menne to destruccion, wyth notable warninges howe the like may be auoyded. Translated into Englysh by John Lidgate, Monke of Burye.

Imprinted at London, by John Wayland, at the signe of the sunne oueragainst the Conduite in Flete-strete. Cum priuilegio per Septennium. [1555]. Folio. Black letter. *Huth Library* title. Fourth edition.

The *British Museum* gives the probable date as 1558. The first edition was printed by Richard Pynson, in 1494.

Lydgate's book was a very popular translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum et Foeminarum Illustrum. libri IX.* It contains Lydgate's celebrated tribute to Chaucer:

My Maister Chaucer with his fresch comedies
Is deed alas! chefe poete of Bretagne,
That somtyme made full pitous tragedies.

The 'fall of princes' he did also complayne
 As he that was of makyng soverayne,
 Whom all this land of right ought preferre,
 Sithe of our language he was the lode sterre.

Warton's note on *The Fall of Princes* is,—“This work is not improperly styled a set of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes: the plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly suggested by the pageants of the times. Every personage is supposed to appear before the poet, and to relate his respective sufferings; and the figures of these spectres are sometimes finely drawn.”

Warton. *History of English Poetry*. Section xxii.

Lawrence's French translation, printed at Lyons, in 1483, is the original of Lydgate's poem, which consists of nine books.

Phillips. *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*. 1800, p. 25.

1560. *The first thre Bokes of the most christiā Poet Marcellus Palingenius* [Pietro Angelo Manzolli] *called the Zodyake of Lyfe; newly translated out of latin into English by Barnabe Googe*.

Imprinted at London, by John Tisdale, for Rafe Newberye. An. Do. 1560. 8vo. Black letter. 64 leaves.

Dedicated to the grandmother of the translator, Lady Hales, and to William Cromer, Thomas Honywood, and Ralph Heimund, Esquires. Second edition. 1561. 8vo. B. L. 170 leaves. Six books. *British Museum*, (2 copies). Dedicated to Sir William Cecil, kinsman of the translator. Third edition. 1565. 8vo. B. L. Twelve books. *Brit. Mus.* Also, 1576. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*, and 1588. 4to. B. L. 135 leaves. *Brit. Mus.*

“Googe's *Zodiac of Palingenius* was a favorite performance, and is constantly classed with the poetical translations of the period by contemporary critics. The work itself was written by G. (?) A. Manzolius, and contains sarcasms against the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Church of Rome.”—Ellis.

"This poem is a general satire on life, yet without peevishness or malevolence; and with more of the solemnity of the censor than the petulance of the satirist."

Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Section LIX.

Pope's well-known lines are copied from Palingenius, probably through Googe's translation :—

"Superior beings, when of late they saw
A mortal man unfold all nature's law,
Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And show'd a Newton as we show an ape."
Essay on Man, Epistle II, ll. 31-34.

The Latin of Palingenius reads :

"Simia caelicolum risusque jocusque deorum est,
Tunc Homo, cum temere ingenio confidit, et audet
Abdita naturae scrutaria, arcanaque rerum;
Cum revera ejus crassa imbecillaque sit mens."
Zodiacus Vitae, B. VI, v, 186. See *Palingenius*.

[1565?]. *The tryumphe of Fraunces Petrarcke, translated out of Italian into Englishe by Henry Parker Knyght, Lord Morley.*

The tryumphe { of Loue
 { of Chastitie
 { of Death
 { of Fame
 { of Tyme
 { of Divinity.

[Colophon.] Printed at London in Powles churchyarde at the sygne of the holy Ghost, by John Cawood, Prynter to the Quenes hyghnes. Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis. n. d. [1565?]. 4to. Black letter. 52 leaves. *British Museum* (2 copies), *Bodleian*, and *Britwell*.

Reprinted by Stafford Henry, Earl of Iddesleigh. 1887. 4to. Roxburghe Club.

The dedication, "Unto the mooste towardely yonge gentle Lorde Maltrauers, sonne and heyre apparant to the worthy and noble Earle of Arundel," is subscribed, "*Dixi Henry Morelye.*"

At the end the translator furnishes an original poem, *Vyrgyll in his Epigrammes of Cupide and Dronkenesse*, in 8-line stanzas, and his own Epitaph in Latin, with an English version. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that John Cawood was printer to Queen Mary, which would date the *Triumphes* forward to at least 1553.

Morley's translation is in irregular and uncouth verse, and is not very faithful to the original.

Lord Morley left a number of manuscript translations, among them, from Italian literature:—

Life of Theseus, from the Latin of Lapo di Castiglionchio, dedicated to Henry VIII.

Scipio and Hannibal, from the Latin of Donato Acciajuoli.

St. Athanasius his Prologue to the Psalter, from the Latin of Angelo Poliziano.

John de Turre Cremata's *Exposition of the 36th Psalm*, with *sonnets* from the humanist poet, Maffeo Vegio, dedicated to the Princess Mary.

Masuccio's Novelle.

Paolo Giovio's *Commentaries on the Turks*, dedicated to Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine Parr.

1567. *The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan, Turned into English Verse, & set forth with the Argument to euery Egloge by George Turbervile Gent. Anno 1567.*

Imprinted at London in Pater noster Rowe, at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman. 8vo. Black letter. 98 leaves, including a leaf of 'Faultes' at the end. *British Museum*. Also, 1572. 8vo. Black letter. 90 leaves. 1594. 8vo. Black letter. 90 leaves.

Dedicated to 'Maister Hugh Bamfield Esquier,' uncle of the translator.

"The said eclogues were afterwards translated by another hand; but not without the help of that translation of Turber-vile, though not acknowledged. The person that performed it was Tho. Harvey, who writes himself gent." [Thomas Harvey, commoner of Winchester College.]

Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*. Wood refers to *The Bucolics of Baptist Mantuan in ten eclogues. Translated by T. Harvey. 1656. 8vo. British Museum.*

Anthony à Wood is certainly wrong in attributing the eclogues to Giovanni Battista Fiera, physician and poet, and his assertion that the second translation is plagiarized from the first is unsupported, so far as I know.

The original eclogues were written by Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, called Mantuanus, and the collection is entitled, *Bucolica seu adolescentia in decem eclogas divisa*. Lyons, 1546. 8vo.

Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (Mantuanus), 1448–1516, who was a Carmelite monk and general of his order, was very highly thought of as a poet in his own day, and was praised by Giraldi Cintio, Pontano, Pico della Mirandola, and even by Erasmus. His own countrymen compared him with Vergil, and at his death the Marquis of Mantua erected a marble statue to his memory by the side of that of the greater Mantuan. Spagnuoli was an admirer of Savonarola, and his ninth *Eclogue* is entitled, *De moribus curiae Romanae*.

Two interesting papers discussing the Mantuan's influence upon Spenser are to be found in *Anglia*.—

Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar und Mantuan's Eclogen. F. Kluge, Anglia, III, p. 266, and Bemerkungen über Spenser's Shepheards Calendar und die frühere Bukolik, Anglia, IX, p. 205.

Shakspeare quotes the beginning of the first *Eclogue*, in *Love's Labours Lost*, IV, 2.

Holofernes. "*Fauste, precor, gelidd quando pecus omne sub umbrâ Ruminat*,—and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:

*Venegia, Venegia,
Chi non te vede, ei non te pregia.*

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan ! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not."

Drake, in *Shakspeare and his Times* (p. 27 of vol. 1), says that the *Eclogues* of Mantuan were translated before Shakspeare's time, with the Latin printed on the opposite page, for use in schools. This translation, or rather adaptation, was probably that made by Alexander Barclay, and contained in Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis, The Shyp of Folys*, the edition of 1570. Eclogues I, II and III are paraphrased, with large additions, from the *Miseriae Curialium* of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius the Second, and treat of the *Miseries of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in general*; "The fourth egloge, entituled *Codrus and Minalcas*, treating of the behaviour of riche men agaynst poetes," is imitated from the fifth of Mantuan; *The Fyfte Eglog of Alexandre Barclay of the Cytezen and Uplondyshman*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, is a colloquy between two shepherds, Amyntas and Faustus, as to the relative advantages and disadvantages of town and country life. See *Spagnuoli*.

1576. *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie.* A most pleasant and merry companion, wel worthy to be welcomed (for a dayly Gheest) not onely to all mens boorde, to guyde them with moderate & holsome dyet; but also into euery mans companie at all tymes, to recreate their mindes with honest mirth and delectable deuises: to sundrie pleasant purposes of pleasure and past-tyme. Gathered out of diuers, the best approued Auctours: and deuided into foure pithy and pleasant Treatises, as it may appeare by the contentes. .

Imprinted at London by Richarde Jones: dwelling ouer-agaynst S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. 1576. 4to. Black letter. 74 leaves. *Bodleian, Huth.* Also, 1583. 4to. Black letter. 68 leaves. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Dedicated to Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's.

The Schoolemaster is a translation from Macrobius's *Saturnaliorum Conviviorum Libri VII*, the "Mensa Philosophica," and from other sources, made by Thomas Twyne. The four 'Treatises' are:—

1. *Of the nature and quality of all meats, drinks, and sauces.*
2. *Of manners, behaviour and usage in company.*
3. *Delectable and pleasant questions and pretie problems to be propounded in company.*
4. *Of honest jests, delectable deuises and pleasant purposes.*

Among other stock jests related by Twyne in the fourth 'Treatise' is a version of *Il Decamerone*, ix, 2; *Levasi una badessa in fretta*. See Warner, *Albion's England*, Book v, Chapter xxvii.

Twyne's *Table Philosophie* is a sort of handbook of mirth and manners, "to be used among companie for delight and recreation at all times, but especially at meale times at the table."

[1581]. *The 'Εκατομπαθία or Passionate Centurie of Loue, Divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Authors sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie. Composed by Thomas Watson Gentleman; and published at the request of certaine Gentlemen his very frendes.*

London. Imprinted by John Wolfe for Gabriell Cawood, dwellinge in Paules Churchyard at the Signe of the Holy Ghost. [1581]. 4to. Reprinted for the Spenser Society. 1869. 4to. *British Museum*. By Edward Arber (*English Reprints*), 1870. 12mo.

Dedicated "To the Right Honorable my very good Lord Edward de Vere, Earle of Oxenford, Vicount Bulbecke, Lord of Escalles, and Badlesmere, and Lord High Chamberlaine of England, all happinesse."

Watson introduces each 'Passion' with a brief explanatory

note in which he carefully acknowledges his indebtedness to other writers, if any obtains, and sets forth what variations he has made in the form. The Italian poets drawn upon, besides Petrarch, are Messer Agnolo Fiorenzuola, Girolamo Parabosco, Serafino d'Aquila (Aquilano), Ercole Strozzi, and Giovanni Pontano. It should be noted that, although the poems are sometimes called 'sonnets,' they are not sonnets strictly speaking. Each Passion consists of eighteen lines, divided into three six-line stanzas, a quatrain followed by a couplet. Passions VI, LXVI and XC are done into Latin hexameters.

"The Authors sufferance in Loue" (Part I) is described at length in a wreath of eighty 'Passions,' while "My Loue is Past" (Part II) is hurried over in the last twenty.

Passion V.

If 't bee not loue I feele, what is it then ?

Except verses eleven and twelve, this Passion is translated from Petrarch, *Sonetto* 88, *Parte Prima*.

S'amor non è; che dunque è quel, ch' i' sento?

Chaucer gives a version of this sonnet, in *Troylus and Cresseide*. *Liber primus*, LVIII and LIX. *Cantus Troili*.

Passion VI.

Hoc si non sit amor, quod persentisco, quid ergo est?

The same sonnet of Petrarch done into Latin.

Passion VII.

Harke you that list to heare what sainte I serue ?

Partly imitated from "Aeneas Silvius, who setteth down the like in describing Lucretia the loue of Euryalus," and partly from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, *Canto* VII, the description of Alcina.

Passion XX.

In time long past, when in Dianaes chase

"In this passion the Authour being joyfull for a kisse, which he had receiued of his Loue, compareth the same unto that kisse, which sometime Venus bestowed upon Aesculapius, for hauing taken a Bramble out of her foote, which pricked her through the hidden spitefull deceyte of Diana, by whom it was laied in her way, as Strozza writeth."

Passion XXI.

Who list to vewe dame Natures cunning skill,

Imitated from Petrarch, *Sonetto* 190, *parte prima*,
Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura,
 and also from a *strambotto* of Serafino,
Chi vuol veder gran cose altiere & nuoue.

Passion XXII.

When werte thou borne sweet Loue? who was thy sire?

From Serafino, *Sonetto* 127, with variations, "to make the rest to seeme the more patheticall,"
Quando nascesti amor? quando la terra
Se rinueste di verde e bel colore;

Passion XXIII.

Thou Glasse, wherein that Sunne delightes to see
 Her own aspect, whose beams haue dride my hart,

The figure of the burning glass in the last couplet is taken from Serafino Aquilano,
Che ho visto ogni qual vetro render foco
Quando è dal Sol percosso in qualche parte,

Passion XXIIII.

Thou glasse, wherein my Dame hath such delight,
Imitated still from Serafino's *strambotti*.

Passion XXXII.

In Thetis lappe, while Titan tooke his rest,
Suggested by Ercole Strozzi's *Somnium*.

Passion XXXIIII.

Ye stately Dames, whose beauties farre excell,
Imitated from Agnolo Fiorenzuola, *Sonetto 2*,
A Selvaggia, Nelle rime di messer Agnolo Fiorenzuola Fiorentino,
Deh le mie belle donne et amoroze,

Passion XXXIX.

When first these eyes beheld with great delight
The second stanza of this Passion,
'I haue attempted oft to make complainte,'
is borrowed from the sestet of Petrarch's *Sonetto xvi, parte prima*,
Più volte già per dir le labbra apersi :

Passion XL.

I joy not peace, where yet no warre is found ;
From Petrarch, *Sonetto 90, parte prima*,
Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra ;
This sonnet of Petrarch's seems to have become to the Elizabethans a typical expression for the sorrows of love. *Tottel's Miscellany* contains two translations of it, Wyatt's *Description of the contrarious Passions in a Lover*, and a second version by

one of the "Uncertayne Auctores." Then Gascoigne tries his hand in *The Strange Passion of a Lover*. In Richard Edwards's *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576, many lines of the same sonnet appear in a poem entitled, *In Quest of my Relief*, by R. H. (Richard Hill.)

Robert Southwell, the poet priest, writing in prison, *What Joy to Live* (in *St. Peter's Complaint*), gives a spiritual significance to the verses; it is of another love, of another life, that the Catholic martyr speaks:—

I wage no war, yet peace I none enjoy :
 I hope, I fear, I fry in freezing cold.
 I mount in mirth, still prostrate in annoy.
 I all the world embrace, yet nothing hold.

Passion XLIII.

The Salamander liues in fire and flame,
 From Serafino's *strambotto*,
Se Salamandra in fiamma viue, e in fuoco,

Passion XLVII.

In time the Bull is broughte to weare the yoake ;
 In time all haggred Haukes will stoope the Lures ;

These two opening lines are imitated from Serafino, *Sonetto* 103,

*Col tempo el Villanello al giogo mena
 El Tor si fiero, e si crudo animale,
 Col tempo el Falcon s'usa à menar l'ale
 E ritornare à te chiamando à pena.*

Passion LV.

My heedelesse hart which Loue yet neuer knew,
 Out of Serafino, *Sonetto* 63,
Come alma assai bramosa & poco accorta,

Passion LVI.

Come gentle Death ; who cal's ? one thats opprest :

The first stanza imitates Serafino's *strambotto*,
Morte: che vuoi? te bramo: Eccomi appresso;
 the second stanza, another *strambotto* by the same poet,
Amor, amor: chi è quel che chiama tanto?

Passion LXI.

If Loue had lost his shaftes, and Ioue downe threw
 His thundring boltes,

From Serafino, *Sonetto* 125,
S' el gran tormento i fier fulmini accesi
Perduti hauessi,

Passion LXV.

Who knoweth not, how often Venus sonne
 Hath forced Juppiter to leaue his seate?

The last stanza,
 'From out my Mistres eyes, two lightsome starres,'
 is imitated from Girolamo Parabosco,
Occhi tuoi, anzi stelle alme, & fatali,

Passion LXVI.

Dum coelum, dum terra tacet, ventusque silescit,

From Petrarch, *Sonetto* CXIII, *parte prima*,
Or, che'l ciel, e la terra, e'l vento tace,
 which Petrarch imitated from Virgil's beautiful lines contrast-
 ing the hush of night with Dido's tumult of soul immediately
 before her suicide,

Nox erat, et tacitum carpebant fessa soporem
Corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant

*Aequora, quum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
Quum tacet omnis ager ;*
Aeneidos, Lib. iv, 522-525.

Passion LXXI.

Alas deere Titus mine, my auncient frend,
"The Authour writeth this Sonnet unto his very friend,
calling him by the name of Titus, as if him selfe were
Gysippus."
The allusion is to Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone*, x, 8.

Passion LXXVII.

Time wasteth yeeres, and month's, and howr's :
Out of Serafino, *Sonetto* 132,
Col tempo passa gli anni, i mesi, e l'hore,

Passion LXXVIII.

What scowling cloudes haue ouercast the skie,
Imitated from Agnolo Fiorenzuola,
O belle donne, prendam pietade,

Passion LXXXV (of My Love is Past).

The souldiar worne with warres, delightes in peace ;
From the Latin of Ercole Strozzi,
*Unda hic sunt Lachrimae, Venti suspiria, Remi
Vota, Error velum, Mens malesana Ratis.*

Passion LXXXVI.

Sweete liberty restores my woonted joy,
Based on a letter written by Aeneas Silvius to a friend
repenting of having "published the wanton loue of Lucretia
and Euryalus."

Passion LXXXIX.

Loue hath delight in sweete delicious fare ;

This passion is made up of sentential verses, mostly from classical authors, but the ninth verse renders Pontano's

Si vacuum sineret perfidious amor,
Loue thinkes in breach of faith there is no fault.

Passion XC.

Me sibi ter binos annos unumque subegit
Dinus Amor ;

A paraphrastic translation of Petrarch, *Sonetto 84, parte seconda,*

Tennemi Amor anni ventuno ardendo,
Lieto nel foco,

Passion XCI.

Ye captiue soules of blindfold Cyprians boate,

Imitated from Agnolo Fiorenzuola,

O miseri coloro,
Che non prouar di donna fede mai :

Fiorenzuola had already imitated Horace, *Liber I, Carmen v, Ad Pyrrham,*

12 *Miseri, quibus*
Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uida
15 *Suspendisse potenti*
Vestimenta maris deo.

Passion XCIII.

My loue is past, woe woorth the day and how'r

The intricate poetical form of this Passion, in which the second and third stanzas exactly follow the first as to first

and last syllables throughout, is copied from the Italian poets.

Passion XCIIII.

I Curse the time, wherein these lips of mine

From Serafino,

Biasremo quando mai le labbra apersi

Passion XCIX.

The haughtie Aegle Birde, of Birdes the best,

From Serafino, *Sonetto* 1, "& grownded upon that, which Aristotle writeth of the Aegle, for the prooffe she maketh of her birdes, by setting them to behold the Sonne. After whom Pliny hath written, as foloweth." (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. 30, cap. 1).

Passion C.

Resolu'd to dust intomb'd heere lieth Loue,

Imitated from Girolamo Parabosco's *Epitaph of Loue*,

In cenere giace qui sepolto Amore,

The epilogue, "more like a praier than a Passion,"

Lugeo iam querulus vitae tot lustra peracta,

is "faithfully translated out of Petrarch," *Sonetto* 85, *parte secondo*,

I vò piangendo i miei passati tempi,

Thomas Watson was a poet of rare gifts who had the singular fortune of being named among the first by his contemporaries, and of being consigned to oblivion almost immediately afterwards. Three years after his early death, Spenser pays tribute to his memory in *Colin Clonts come home again*, 1595:—

"Amyntas, flower of shepherds' pride forlorn.

He, whilst he liued, was the noblest swain

That ever pipéd in an oaten quill :

Both did he other, which could pipe, maintain,

And eke himself could pipe, with passing skill."

Nash, in *Haue with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596, writes of him, "for all things [he] hath left few his equalls in England;" and Meres, *Wits Treasurie*, 1598, says, "as Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano, and Ariosto, so England had Matthew Roydon, Thomas Atchelowe, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kyd, Robert Greene and George Peele."

The Spenser Society's fine edition of the *Passionate Centurie of Loue*, 1869, together with Mr. Arber's appreciative reprint of this and the other poems in the following year, have brought him once more into notice.

Palgrave, in reviewing the Arber reprint, puts Watson in the first rank of the Elizabethan "Amourists," below Sidney, but above Spenser, and excepting Shakspeare, always and in every circumstance a class by himself.

See *Thomas Watson the Poet*, F. T. Palgrave, *The North American Review*, January, 1872.

1585. *Amyntas Thomae Watsoni Londinensis, I. V. Studiosi. Nemini datur amare simul et sapere.*

Excudebat Henricus Marsh, ex assignatione Thomae Marsh. 1585. 8vo. (12mo. Hazlitt. 16mo. Arber.) 27 leaves. *British Museum*.

Dedicated, 'Henrico Noello' and 'Ad Lectorem.'

Amyntas and *Amintae Gaudia* (1592) are Latin elegiac eclogues, after the manner of Petrarch in his Latin pastorals, and of the once famous Mantuan through whom the traditions of English pastoral poetry really descend.

See Fraunce's *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis*, 1587, and *The Countesse of Pembrokes Ioychurch*, Part II, *Phillis Funeral*, 1591; also, *The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan*, 1567.

1586. *Albions England. Or Historical Map of the same Island: prosecuted from the liues Actes and Labors of Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, and Aeneas: Originalles of the Bruton, and Englishmen, and occasion of the Brutons their first aryvall in*

Albion. Containing the same Historie unto the Tribute to the Romaines, Entrie of the Saxones, Invasion by the Danes, and Conquest by the Normaines. With Historicall Intermixtures, Inuention, and Varietie profitably, briefly and pleasantly, performed in Verse and Prose by William Warner.

Imprinted at London by George Robinson for Thomas Cadman, dwelling at the great North-doore of S. Paules Church at the signe of the Byble. [Colophon.] Imprinted at London by George Robinson for Thomas Cadman. Anno Do. 1586. 4to. 65 leaves. *Britwell* (First Part only). Also, 1589. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum, Huth. Rev. T. Corser* (First and Second Parts). 1592. 4to. Black letter. *Brit. Mus.* (Dedicated to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon). 1596. 4to. 176 leaves. *Brit. Mus., Bridgewater House.* 1597. 4to. 176 leaves. *Brit. Mus.* (2 copies). 1602. 4to. 252 leaves. *Brit. Mus.* (First complete edition, in 13 Books, (2 copies)). 1606. 4to. (*A Continuance of Albions England*, dedicated to Sir Edward Coke). 1612. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* (Last edition).

Three stanzas of Book V, Chapter xxvii, of *Albion's England*, very unexpectedly render into English *Il Decamerone*, ix, 2; *Levasi una badessa in fretta*. See Twyne's *The Schoole-master*, 1576.

1587. *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis: Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameters, by Abraham Fraunce, Newelie Corrected.*

London. Printed by John Charlewood for Thomas Newman and Thomas Gubbin. Anno Dom. 1588. 4to. 20 leaves. Also, 1587. 4to. *Bodleian.* 1589. 4to. 1596. 4to.

The 1588 edition, whose title is here given, is in the *Huth Library*. The *British Museum* has recently acquired (1894) the only known copy of the 1596 edition. It was discovered in a collection of rare English books, chiefly of *belles lettres*, of the time of Elizabeth and James I., in 1867, by Mr. C. Edmonds, at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Charles Isham Bart.—*The Academy*, August 10, 1895.

The translation is dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke. See Thomas Watson's *Amyntas*, 1585, and Fraunce's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Iychurch*, Part II, 1591.

1588. *Musica Transalpina, Altus. Madrigales translated of foure, five and six parts, chosen out of diuers excellent Authors, with the first and second part of La Verginella, made by Maister Byrd, upon two Stanzs of Ariosto, and brought to speake English with the rest. Published by N. Yonge, in fauour of such as take pleasure in musicke of voices.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas East, the assignè of William Byrd, 1588. Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. 6 parts. 4to. Fifty-seven songs.

Dedicated to Gilbert, Lord Talbot, son and heir of George, Earl of Shrewsbury.

"I endeavored," says Yonge, "to get into my hands all such English songes as were praise worthie, and amongst others I had the hap to find in the hands of some of my good friends certaine Italian Madrigales translated most of them five years ago by a gentleman for his private delight."

La Verginella.

I.

The fayre yong virgin is like the rose untainted,
 In garden faire while tender stalk doth beare it;
 Sole and untoucht, with no resort acquainted,
 No shepherd nor his flock doth once come neere it:
 Th' ayre full of sweetnesse, the morning fresh depainted,
 The earth the water with all their fauours cheer it:
 Daintie yong gallants, and ladyes most desired,
 Delight to haue therewith their head and breasts attyred.

II.

But not soone from greene stock where it growed,
 The same is pluckt and from the same remoued;

As lost is all from heauen and earth that flowed,
Both fauour grace and beauty best beloued :

The virgin faire that hath the flower bestowed,
Which more than life to gard it her behowed ;
Loseth hir praise, and is no more desired
Of those that late unto hir loue aspired.

La Verginella is of more than passing interest, quite apart from its sentiment and grace of expression, because it is probably the earliest English madrigal. At least I have met with no earlier example of this form of composition, and its being mentioned particularly in the title of a collection of fifty-seven madrigals would seem to indicate that some special importance was attached to it.

William Byrd, 1538(?)–1623, the composer, shared with Thomas Tallis the honorary post of organist to the Chapel Royal. Although royal organist through the national change of religion, he remained a Roman Catholic, and composed many church services, among them the well-known canon, *Non nobis, Domine*, traditionally said to be preserved in the Vatican engraved on a golden plate.

1597. *Musica Transalpina, Cantus. The Seconde Booke of Madrigalles, to 5 & 6 voices: translated out of sundrie Italian Authors & Newly published by Nicholas Yonge.*

At London. Printed by Thomas Este. 1597. 4to. 6 parts. Twenty-four songs.

Dedicated to Sir Henry Lennard, Knight.

In the following madrigal, from the second book, the lover has some remnant of philosophy left,—

Brown is my loue, but graceful! and each renowned whiteness
Matcht with thy lovely brown, looseth his brightness.
Fair is my love, but scornfull! yet haue I seen despised
Dainty white lillies, and sad flowers well prised.

Another love-song of the same book is in every way charming,—

So saith my fair and beautiful Læcoris, when now and then
she talketh

With me of loun; loun is a sprite that walketh,
That soars and flies, and none aline can hold him,
Nor touch him, nor behold him;
Yet when her eyes she turneth,
I spy where he sojourneth;

In her eyes, there he flies;
But none can touch him,
Till on her lips he couch him;
But none can catch him,
Till from her lips he fetch him.

Censura Literaria, Vol. IX, p. 5 (Ed. 1809).

1590. *Superius. The first sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the original dittie, but after the affection of the Noote. By Thomas Watson, Gentleman. There are also heere inserted two excellent Madrigalls of Master William Byrds, composed after the Italian vaine, at the requeste of the sayd Thomas Watson.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Este, the assigne of William Byrd, & are to be sold at the house of the sayd T. Este, being in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the Black Horse. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. Six parts. 4to.

Each part is dedicated by Watson in Latin verse to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and on the back of the title there is another inscription in Latin verse to a musical friend, Luca Marenzio, the author of the harmony, which Watson, in his lines to Essex, describes as “Marenzaeos cantus.” Luca Marenzio was the greatest madrigal writer of the time.

The “two excellent Madrigalls of Master William Byrds” are two settings, for four and six voices, of

This sweet and merry month of May,
 While nature wantons in her pryme,
 And birds do sing and beasts do play,
 For pleasure of the ioyfull time,
 I choose the first for holy daie,
 And greet Eliza with a ryme;
 O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
 Take well in worth a simple toy.

Another madrigal alludes to the death of Sir Philip Sidney :

How long with vaine complayning ;
 How long with dreary teares and joyes refraining ;
 Shall we renewe his dying,
 Whose happy soull is flying ;
 Not in a place of sadness,
 But of eternall gladnes ;
 Sweet Sydney liues in heau'n. O ! therefore let our weeping
 Be turn'd to hymns and songs of pleasant greeting.

There are twenty-eight songs in all.

Censura Literaria, Vol. ix, p. 1 (Ed. 1809).

1591. *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, by John Harington [Sir John Harington]. [Colophon.]

Imprinted at London by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blackfriars, by Ludgate. 1591. Folio. 225 leaves. *British Museum*, (3 copies). Also, 1607. Folio. *British Museum*, and 1634. Folio. 248 leaves. *British Museum*. The last edition contains Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*, printed twice before, 1618 and 1625.

Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

Harington's translation is in the octave stanza of Ariosto, and is magnificently illustrated, the engraved title containing portraits of Ariosto and of Sir John Harington and his dog. The engravings, although sometimes said to be English, were in fact printed from the Italian plates of Girolamo Porro, of

Padua, and had been used before in Italy. The plates are worn and unequal in the editions of 1607 and 1634. Stanzas 1-50 of Book xxxii. were translated by Francis Harington, younger brother to Sir John.

Six plays may be referred to *Orlando Furioso*, five of them later in date than Sir John Harington's translation :

- (1) *Ariodante and Geneuora*, acted Jan. 12, 1582, before Queen Elizabeth and her Court.

From *Orlando Furioso*, Canto v.

- (2) *The History of Orlando Furioso*. 1594. 4to. Robert Greene.

Founded on an episode in Canto xxiii. This play was acted at the Rose in 1591, Edward Alleyn taking the part of Orlando.

- (3) *Much Ado About Nothing*. 1600. 4to. Shakspeare.

The story of Claudio and Hero is the same as that of Ariodante and Geneuora in Ariosto. Shakspeare may have taken the plot from Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, vol. iii, based on Bandello, i, 22, the tale of *S. Timbreo di Cardona*, but the personation of Hero by Margaret is probably borrowed from Harington's translation.

- (4) *The Tempest*. 1623. Folio. Shakspeare.

Suggests the shipwreck of Ruggiero, the hermit's desert island, and the reconciliation between Ruggiero and Orlando. *Orlando Furioso*, Cantos xli. and xliii.

- (5) *Sicelides*. 1631. 4to. Phineas Fletcher.

Atyches rescuing Olinda from the orc imitates *Orlando Furioso*, Canto x, where Ruggiero delivers Angelica from the monster.

- (6) *The Sea Voyage*. 1647. Folio. John Fletcher.

The commonwealth of women is traceable to the Argonautic legend of Hypsipyle on Lemnos, reproduced in *Orlando Furioso*, Canto xx.

1591. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Iychurch. Containing the affectionate life and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyn-*

tas: That in a Pastorall; This in a Funerall: both in English Hexameters. By Abraham Fraunce.

London. Printed by Thomas Orwyn for William Ponsonby, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591. 4to. 48 leaves. *British Museum*, (2 copies). *Bodleian. Huth.*

Dedicated "To the right excellent, and most honorable Ladie, the Ladie Marie, Countesse of Pembroke."

Fraunce says, in his Dedicatory Epistle, "I have somewhat altered S. [ignor] Tasso's Italian & M. [aster] Watson's Latine *Amyntas* to make them one English." The first part, the Pastorall, as far as Act V, Sc. 2, is a close translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, acted at Ferrara in 1573; the second part, 'Phyllis Funerall,' is a reprint, the fourth edition, of Fraunce's older translation of Thomas Watson's *Amyntas*, called *The Lamentations of Amyntas*, 1587.

The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Irvychurch: Entituled, Amintas Dale. Wherein are the most conceited tales of the Pagan Gods in English Hexameters: to-gether with their auncient descriptions and Philosophical explications. By Abraham Fraunce.

At London. Printed [by Thomas Orwyn] for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare. 1592. 4to. 61 leaves. *British Museum*, (2 copies). *Huth.*

Dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, in grandiloquent Latin hexameters. This work is in both prose and verse, and resembles in plan Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. Abraham Fraunce was highly esteemed as a poet by Sir Philip Sidney.

1591. *Complaints, Containing sundrie small Poemes of the Worlds Vanitie. Whereof the nexte Page maketh mention. By Ed. Sp.*

London. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591.

4to. 91 leaves. *British Museum*, (3 copies). 1882. 8vo. *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser*, Vol. III (Grosart).

This is a miscellaneous collection of poems put forth by Spenser's publisher a year after the appearance of the first three books of *The Faery Queene*. The several poems are dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, and to Spenser's kinswomen, Lady Strange, Lady Carey, and Lady Compton and Mounteagle.

Number 8, *The Visions of Bellay*, and Number 9, *The Visions of Petrarch*, "formerly translated" from Du Bellay and Petrarch, had been printed twenty-two years before, in Van der Noot's *A Theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous Worldlings, As also the greate ioyes and pleasures which the faithfull do enjoy*. 1569. This volume is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and is enriched by sixteen engravings on wood, in illustration of the *Visions* of Petrarch and Du Bellay contained in it. Each engraving is accompanied by verses, called Epigrams and Sonnets. Petrarch's *Visions*, a series of seven sonnets, is a translation of his *canzone*,—

Standomi un giorno solo alla fenestra (Canzone 42, of Sonetti e Canzoni in Morte di Madonna Laura).

The verses are without Spenser's name, but as they appear, with alterations, in the *Complaints*, they have been very generally accepted as the earliest printed work of the poet, then a boy in his seventeenth year. The sonnets from Petrarch are almost exactly the same as in Van der Noot, but the *Visions* of Du Bellay are changed from blank verse to rimed sonnets. They are translations, fifteen in all, from a collection of forty-seven French sonnets entitled,—

Antiquitez de Rome, contenant une generale description de sa grandeur, et comme une deploration de sa ruine. . . . Plus un Songe ou vision sur le mesme subject.

Paris. Federic Morel. 1558. 4to. *British Museum*.

1592. *Amintae Gaudia, Authore Thomæ Watsono Londinensi, Juris studioso.*

Londini: Imprimis Guilhelmi Ponsonbei. 1592. 4to. Bodleian. *British Museum*. [In Latin hexameters.]

Dedicated, "Mariae Penbrokiae Countissae," by C. M. Hazlitt suggests that C. M. may have been Christopher Marlowe.

George Peele, writing shortly after the early death of Watson, in 1593, says :

Watson, worthy many Epitaphes
For his sweet Poesie, for Amintas teares
And joyes so well set downe.

Ad Muecaenatum Prologus, in The Honour of the Garter.

Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia, or Wits Treasurie*, 1598, says :

"As Theocritus in Greeke, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sanazar in Italian, and the Authour of *Amyntae Gaudia* and Walsingham's *Meliboeus* are the best for pastorall."

1594. *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Hierusalem. An Heroicall poeme written in Italian by Seig. Torquato Tasso, and translated into English by R. C. Esquire: And now the first part containing fve Cantos, Imprinted in both Languages.*

London. Imprinted by John Windet for Christopher Hunt of Exceter. 1594. 4to. 120 leaves. *British Museum*. Also, 1817. 12mo. (Fourth Book, accompanying Fairfax's translation). *British Museum*. 1881. 4to. A. B. Grosart, (62 copies only).

A translation of the first five cantos of Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, 1580. It is more noteworthy for its faithfulness to the original than for its poetry ; the verse is always regular and is set in the Italian stanza. R. C. is Richard Carew of Anthony, author of the *Survey of Cornwall*.

II. *Godfrey of Bulloigne* was acted July 19, 1594, while *Godfrey of Bulloigne, with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, was

entered on *Register B*, for John Danter, June 19, 1594. Fleay (*Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 302) thinks this must have been the First Part of the same play, and may have been identical with the old play called *Jerusalem*, of March 22, 1592, retained by Henslow from Lord Strange's men.

The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem, by Thomas Heywood, was acted before 1615, at the Red Bull, and printed in 1615 and 1632.

Kirkman's Catalogue, 1661, mentions a tragedy, entitled *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, which was written by Thomas Legge, and acted in 1577 at Coventry.

1596. *Diella, Certaine Sonnets, adioyned to the amorous Poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura*. By R. [ichard] L. [ynche] Gentleman. *Ben balla, à chi fortuna suona*.

At London, Printed for Henry Olney, and are to be sold at his shop in Fleetstreete neer the Middle-temple gate. 1596. 8vo. 44 leaves. Bodleian. British Museum. (16mo.)

The "amorous Poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura" is taken from Bandello, I, 27, *Don Diego de la sua Donna sprezzato, uà à starsi in una Grotta; e come n'uscì*. The romance is related by Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, II, 29, *Dom Diego and Gineura*; by Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, 1567, No. 13, *A wonderfull constancie in Dom Diego*; and by Whetstone, *Rocke of Regard*, 1576, 2, *The Garden of Unthriftinesse, wherein is reported the dolorous discourse of Dom Diego a Spaniard, together with his triumphe*.

Thomas Procter's *A gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions*, 1578, mentions Dom Diego in the poem, entitled *The Louer wounded with his Ladies beauty craueth mercy. To the Tune of where is the life that late I led*.

1597. *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to foure voyces: selected out of the best and approved Italian Authors by Thomas Morley, Gent. of her Majesties Chappell*.

Imprinted at London by Peter Short, dwelling on Bred-streete hill at the signe of the Star and are there to be sold. 1597. 4to. *British Museum*.

Dedicated "to the Worshipfull Maister Henrie Tapsfield, Citizen and Grocer, of the Cittie of London—I hartily intreat you to accept these poore Canzonets, by me collected from diuers excellent Italian Authours, for the honest recreation of yourselfe and others."

Thomas Morley, born about 1557, died about 1604, was a pupil of William Byrd, organist of St. Paul's, and successively epistler and gospeler to the Chapel Royal. He wrote seven books of canzonets or madrigals, 1593 to 1600; *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597; and edited, 1601, *Madrigals. The Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of twenty-five madrigals in honor of Queen Elizabeth.

One of Morley's airs, in *The First Booke of Aires*, etc., 1600, is a setting of the second page's song in *As You Like It*, v, 3, "It was a lover and his lass," which is extremely interesting as one of the few pieces of original Shakspearean music that has survived.

A single canzonet from this collection occurs in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, Vol. x, p. 298:—

When lo! by break of morning,
My love her self adorning,
Doth walk the woods so dainty,
Gath'ring sweet violets and cowslips plenty,
The birds enamour'd, sing and praise my Flora,
Lo! here a new Aurora.

A few more songs may be found in the *British Bibliographer*, Vol. I, pp. 344–5, where one canzonet,

Long hath my loue bene kept from my delighting,

is ascribed to Felice Anerio, 1560 (?)–1630 (?), a celebrated composer of sacred madrigals, and organist to the pontifical chapel in Rome.

1597. *Two Tales, Translated out of Ariosto. The one in Dispraise of Men, the other in Disgrace of Women: With certain other Italian Stanzas and Proverbs.* By R. [obert] T. [ofte] Gentleman.

Printed at London by Valentine Sims, dwelling on Adling hill at the signe of the white Swanne. 1597. 4to. 16 leaves.

1597. *Virgidemiarum Sixe Bookes. First three Bookes, of Tooth-lesse Satyrs. 1. Poeticall. 2. Academical. 3. Morall.*

London. Printed by John Harison, for Robert Dexter. 1602.

Virgidemiarum: The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres. Corrected and amended with some additions by J. H. [Joseph Hall, successively Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich].

Imprinted at London for Robert Dexter, at the signe of the Brazen Serpent in Paules Churchyard. 1599.

Certaine Worthye Manuscript Poems, of great Antiquitie, Reserued long in the Studie of a Northfolke Gentleman, And now first published by J. S.

Imprinted at London for R. D. 1597. Sm. 8vo.

These three publications, though always found in one volume, have different titles and signatures. The first three books of Satires originally appeared in 1597, the last three in 1598. The *Huth Library* copy, whose title-page is here given, is the third edition of Books I–III, and the second of Books IV–VI.

Of the *Certaine Worthye Manuscript Poems* there was only a single impression, dedicated "To the worthiest Poet Maister Ed. Spenser."

The poems are three in number,—

The statly tragedy of Guistard and Sismond.

The Northern Mothers Blessing.

The way to Thrifte.

The statly tragedy of Guistard and Sismond is taken from the *Decameron*, IV, 1, and is a reprint of a metrical version of the romance made by William Walter, a poet of the time of

Henry VII. Walter's poem, which is in octave stanza, was based on a Latin prose translation, *Epistola Leonardi Aretini de amore Guistardi*, etc. [1480?], and is entitled, *The amorous History of Guystarde and Sygysmonde, and of their dolorous Deth by her Father*. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1532. Roxburghe Club. 1818.

The romance of *Guiscardo and Ghismonda* was very popular in Italian dramatic literature, and no less than five different tragedies on this subject were written between 1508 and 1614. Three of them are called *Tancredi*, one *La Pamfila*, while still another, *La Ghismonda*, obtained a temporary fame by being attributed by its author, Silvano de' Razzi, to Tasso.

Two Elizabethan plays carry the tragedy over into English literature,—

Tuncred and Gismund, a tragedy, by Robert Wilmot, acted before the Court, at the Inner Temple, in 1568, and printed in 1592, quarto. It is the oldest extant Elizabethan play founded on an Italian *novella*.

Tancred, by Sir Henry Wotton, written at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1586–7, and not extant.

Both of these plays are probably founded on Painter's prose translation, *Gismonda and Guiscardo, Palace of Pleasure*, I, 39. Dryden versified the romance in his *Fables*, as *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*.

There are two eighteenth century tragedies on the theme, *The Cruel Gift, or the Royal Resentment*, by Susannah Centlivre. 1717. 12mo., and *Tancred and Sigismunda*, by James Thomson. 1745. 8vo.

Hogarth, 1763, painted Sigismonda weeping over the heart of her lover. (National Gallery, London.)

1598. *Orlando innamorato. The three first Bookes of that famous Noble Gentleman and learned Poet, Matheo Maria Boiardo Earle of Scandiano in Lombardie. By R. [obert] T. [ofte] Gentleman. Parendo impero Imperando pere.*

Printed at London by Valentine Sims, dwelling on Adlinghil at the signe of the white Swanne. 1598. Sm. 4to. *British Museum*.

"*Orlando Inamorato* is singularly unequal; but shows familiarity with the language and dexterity of versification."

A. B. Grosart. *Occasional Issues*. Vol. XII.

The *Orlando Inamorato* appeared about 1495, in three books, the last incomplete.

I do not know whether Tofte translated from the original Boiardo, or from one of the two *rifacimenti* that exist, Francesco Berni's elegant poem, or Domenichi's poor one that superseded that. Grosart gives no information on this point, and his biography of Robert Tofte, in the volume of *Occasional Issues* just cited, is probably the completest account of the poet that we have. Blackwood's reviewer of Rose's *The Orlando Innamorato Translated into Prose from the Italian of Francesco Berni*, 1823, had never heard of Tofte's translation, for he says, "no English attempt whatever had hitherto been made, either upon Boiardo himself, or his *rifacciatore* Berni."

Blackwood's. Vol. XIII. March, 1823.

The story of Iroldo and Tisbina of Babylon, which is related to Rinaldo by Fiordelisa, *Orlando Innamorato*, Book I, Canto 12, is the well-known romance of *Dianora and Ansaldo*, or the *Enchanted Garden*, *Decameron*, x, 5, but the 'question' finds a different, and poorer, solution in the Renaissance poet. In Boccaccio, and after him, in Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, the lover, overcome by the husband's generosity, releases the lady from her promise. In Boiardo, the husband and wife take poison in order to die together; but the drug turns out to be harmless, whereupon Iroldo voluntarily quits Babylon for life, and Tisbina, who had just been on the point of dying for one husband, incontinently takes another, Prasildo.

Leigh Hunt made a translation of the romance in his *Stories from the Italian Poets*, where it is called *The Saracen Friends*. See *Philocopo*, 1567.



1598. *Altus. Madrigals to five voyces, selected out of the best approued Italian Authors. By Thomas Morley Gentleman of hir Maiesties Royall Chappel.*

At London. Printed by Thomas Este. 1598. 5 parts. 4to. 70 leaves. Twenty-four songs. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Sir Gervais Clifton, Knight.

Morley says in his Dedication,—“I ever held this sentence of the poet as a canon of my creede; *That whom God loveth not, they love not Musique.* For as the Art of Musique is one of the most Heavenly gifts, so the very love of Musique (without art) is one of the best engrafted testimonies of Heavens love towards us.”

Madrigal.

Doe not tremble, but stand fast,
Deare, and faint not: hope well, haue well, my sweeting:
Loe where I come to thee with friendly greeting:
Now ioyne with mee thy hand fast:
Loe thy true loue salut's thee,
Whose jeme thou art, and so he still reput's thee.

British Bibliographer, Vol. II, p. 652.

1598. *The Courtiers Academie: Comprehending seuen seuerall dayes discourses; wherein be discussed, seuen noble and important arguments, worthy by all Gentlemen to be perused. [1. Of Beauty; 2. Of Humane Loue; 3. Of Honour; 4. Of Combate and single Fight; 5. Of Nobilitie; 6. Of Riches; 7. Of precedence of Letters or Armes.] Originally written in Italian by Count Haniball Romei a Gentleman of Ferrara, and translated into English by J. [ohn] K. [epers].*

[London]. Printed by Valentine Sims: n. d. [1598.] 4to.

Dedicated to “Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, K. G.”

Interspersed with poetry, and containing also some translations from Petrarch.

John Kepers was born about 1547, at Wells, Somerset. Anthony à Wood says that he was “brought up in the close

of Wells," and Warton that he was a graduate of Oxford in the year 1564, who afterwards studied music and poetry at Wells.

1599. *Of Mariage and Wiving. An Excellent, pleasant, and Philosophical Controversie, betweene the two famous Tassi now living, the one Hercules the Philosopher, the other, Torquato the Poet. Done into English by R. [obert] T. [ofte] Gentleman. 2 pts.*

London. Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by John Smythicke, at his shop in Fleet streete neare the Temple Gate. 1599. Crown 8vo. (*British Museum.*) 4to. (*Huth Library.*)

This is a translation, in verse, of Tasso's *Dell'ammogliarsi, piacevole contese fra i due moderni Tassi, Ercole e Torquato. Bergamo.* 1594. 4to. [*Discorsi e Dialoghi.*]

Part I. is entitled, "The declaration of Hercules Tasso . . . against marriage;" Part II., "A defence or answer . . . by Torquato Tasso."

1600. *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Jerusalem. Done into English heroically verse, by E[dward] Fairefax.*

Imprinted at London by Ar. Hatfield for J. Jaggard and M. Lownes. 1600. Folio. 200 leaves. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Dedicated, in four six-line stanzas, "To her High Majesty," Queen Elizabeth.

The second edition, 1624, folio (*British Museum*), was printed at the express desire of King James I., and was dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales.

There have been eight subsequent editions of this excellent and enduring translation, besides a reprint of the third edition; namely, 1687. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1726. 8vo. 2 vols. *Brit. Mus.* (Dublin reprint of third edition.) 1749. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1786. 8vo. 1817. 8vo. 2 vols. *Brit. Mus.* (Charles Knight.) 1817. 12mo. 2 vols. *Brit. Mus.* (Singer.) 1844. 12mo. 2 vols. *Brit. Mus.* (Charles Knight.) 1853.

8vo. 2 vols. *Brit. Mus.* (Routledge's British Poets.) 1855.
12mo. (American edition.)

Fairfax's is the first complete translation of Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*. It is executed with ease and spirit, and with such a fine poetic feeling withal that it often reads like an original poem.

"Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original; and many besides myself have heard our famous Waller own that he derived the harmony of his numbers from *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, which was turned into English by Mr. Fairfax."

Dryden. Preface to his *Fables*.

"Fairfax I have been a long time in quest of. Johnson, in his Life of Waller, gives a most delicious specimen of him.

"By the way, I have lit upon Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bullen*, for half-a-crown. Rejoice with me."

Charles Lamb, *Letters to Coleridge*, Jan. 5 and April 15, 1797.

For plays on the subject of *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, see Carew's translation, 1594.

1601. *Loues Martyr: or, Rosalins Complaint. Allegorically shadowing the truth of Loue, in the constant Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle. A Poeme enterlaced with much varietie and raritie; now first translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato Coeliano, by Robert Chester. With the true legend of famous King Arthur, the last of the nine Worthies, being the first Essay of a new Brytish Poet: collected out of diuerse Authentick Records. To these are added some new compositions, of seuerall moderne Writers whose names are subscribed to their seuerall workes, upon the first subject: viz. the Phoenix and Turtle. Mar:—Mutare dominum non potest liber notus.*

London. Imprinted for E. B. 1601. 4to.

Dedicated "To the Honorable, and (of me before all other) honored Knight, Sir John Salisburie one of the Esquires of the bodie to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie."

Loues Martyr was reissued, in 1611, under an entirely new title.

1611. *The Anualls of great Brittain. Or, A Most Excellent Monument, wherein may be seene all the antiquities of this Kingdome, to the satisfaction both of the Universities, or any other place stirred with Emulation of long continuance. Excellently figured out in a worthy Poem. 2 pts.*

London. Printed for Mathew Lownes. 1611. 4to. *British Museum*. Edited by A. B. Grosart. *Occasional Issues*. Vol. VII. 1878. 4to.

The "new compositions," "done by the best and chiefest of our moderne writers," which follow the poem are signed Ignoto, William Shake-speare, John Marston, George Chapman, and Ben Johnson.

Grosart, in his edition of *Love's Martyr*, arrives at the conclusion, which is supported independently by Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, that the poem is allegorical of relations supposed to have existed between Queen Elizabeth and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex and Ewe. According to this interpretation, Elizabeth is the "Phoenix," and Essex the "Turtle-dove," Love's martyr. Further, Grosart infers that Shakspeare and the other "moderne Writers," who contributed commendatory verses, sided with Chester in doing honor to Essex. Be all this as it may, it is a noteworthy fact, that, with the exception of the enigmatical poem, *Let the bird of loudest lay*, added to Chester's *Love's Martyr*, Shakspeare wrote no commendatory verses as he sought none.

The name of the Italian poet whom Chester cites as his original is a combination, made up from 'Torquato Tasso' and 'Livio Celiano.' It is conjectured that Chester found the 'venerable Italian Torquato Coeliano' in a little book, entitled, *Rime di diversi celebri poeti dell' età nostra*. Bergamo, 1587; pages 95-148 of this collection consist of poems from Livio Celiano, and pages 149-181 of similar selections from Torquato Tasso.

After going over the whole matter carefully, Grosart was at first of the opinion that *Love's Martyr* was not a translation at all, but only said to be so to heighten the effect of the allegory. But he subsequently modified this judgment somewhat:—"My impression is that the Dialogue between Nature and the Phoenix and Rosalin's Complaint and the Prayer which follows, are translated; but probably in the original are separate poems. The 'Arthur' episode is plainly—by the title-page and subject—original."

Nash and Meres speak of Celiano as one of the chief poets of the time, but excepting the selections in the book cited, his poems (Celiano, Livio, *Rime*, Pavia, 1592, Quadrio) are not known to be extant.

"I should like to have the Academy of Letters propose a prize for an essay on Shakespeare's poem, *Let the bird of loudest lay*, and the *Threnos* with which it closes, the aim of the essay being to explain, by a historical research into the poetic myths and tendencies of the age in which it was written, the frame and allusions of the poem. I have not seen Chester's *Love's Martyr*, and "the Additional Poems" (1601), in which it appeared. Perhaps that book will suggest all the explanation this poem requires. To unassisted readers, it would appear to be a lament on the death of a poet, and of his poetic mistress. But the poem is so quaint and charming in diction, tone, and allusions, and in its perfect metre and harmony, that I would gladly have the fullest illustration yet attainable."

Emerson. Preface to *Parnassus*. (1875.)

1607. *Rodomonths Infernall, or The Diuell conquered. Aristos Conclusions. Of the Marriage of Rogero with Bradamanth his Love, & the fell fought Battell betweene Rogero and Rodomonth the neuer-conquered Pagan. Written in French by Phillip de Portes, and Paraphrastically translated by G. [ervase] M. [arkham].*

At London. Printed by V. S. for Nicholas Ling. [1607]. 8vo. 30 leaves. *British Museum*.

A note in Lowndes says, "It was printed under the title of *Rodomont's Furies*, in 1606, 4to., and dedicated to Lord Montague."

Philippe Des Portes published, in 1572, *Roland Furieux, imitation de l'Arioste. La Mort de Rodomont . . . partie imitée de l'Arioste, partie de l'invention de l'auteur. Angelique. Continuation du sujet de l'Arioste. Imitations de quelques chans de l'Arioste*, etc. 1572. 8vo. *British Museum*.

In the last canto of the *Orlando Furioso*, Ruggiero marries Bradamante, and kills Rodomonte, the pagan Knight, in single combat.

1608. *The Englishmans Doctor. Or, the Schoole of Salerne. Or, Physicall observations for the perfect Preserving of the body of Man in continuall health.* [Translated, in verse, by Sir John Harington.]

Printed for J. Helme and J. Busby, Junior, London, 1607, 8vo. Also, 1609. 8vo. Both in the *British Museum*.

The Schoole of Salerne, or Regimen Sanitatis Salerni, was a very popular work on hygienic medicine, originally compiled by Joannes de Mediolano. It was frequently reprinted, with additions and emendations, in Latin, French, and English, and in both prose and verse. The first English edition, in prose, by Thomas Paynell, went through seven editions between 1528 and 1597. Several French editions are done in burlesque or macaronic verse.

1608. *Ariosto's Satyres, in seven famous discourses, shewing the State, 1. Of the Court, and Courtiers. 2. Of Libertie, and the Clergie in generall. 3. Of the Romane clergie. 4. Of Marriage. 5. Of Soldiers, Musitians, and Louers. 6. Of Schoolmasters and Scholers. 7. Of Honour, and the happiest life.* In English by Gervase Markham.

London. Printed by Nicholas Okes, for Roger Jackson, dwelling in Fleet street, neere the great Conduit. 1608. Sm.

4to. 58 leaves. *Huth. British Museum.* Reprinted anonymously, in 1611, under a new title,—

Ariostos seven Planets Gouverning Italie. Or his satyrs in seven Famous discourses, shewing the estate, 1. Of the Court and Courtiers. 2. Of Libertie and the Clergy in general. 3. Of the Romane Clergie. 4. Of Marriage. 5. Of Soldiers, Musicians, and Louers. 6. Of Schoolemasters and Schollers. 7. Of Honour, and the happiest life. Newly Corrected and Augmented, with many excellent and note worthy notes, together with a new Addition of three most excellent Elegies, written by the same Lodovico Ariosto, the effect whereof is contained in the Argument. Qui te sui te sui.

London. Printed by William Stansby for Roger Jackson, dwelling in Fleete streete neere the Conduit. 1611.

There is no difference between the two editions of the *Satires*, except in the titles, and in the three *Elegies* appended to the second edition, with a new pagination.

The translation is claimed by Robert Tofte in his *Epistle to the Courteous Reader* prefixed to the *Blazon of Jealousie*. 1615.

Tofte's order of the *Satires* is different from that of modern editions of Ariosto, and his titles are not transparently clear. The first *Epistle*, which is addressed to the poet's brother, Galasso Ariosto, treats of a proposed journey to Rome; the second gives the reasons why Ariosto declined to accompany Cardinal Ippolito d'Este to Hungary; the subject of the third is the choice of a wife; the fourth compares the vanity of honors and riches with the peace of a contented mind; the fifth shows how Ariosto chafed under his uncongenial duties as governor of Garfagnana; the sixth explains why he declined to seek advancement from Pope Clement VII.; the seventh, written to Cardinal Bembo, is upon the education of his son, Virginio, and contains an interesting account of Ariosto's own education and early struggles.

All the *Epistles* are more or less autobiographical, and reveal Ariosto as man and poet in a most attractive light, frank, sincere, and genially satirical.

1608. *Musica Sacra to Six Voyces. Composed in the Italian tongue by Giovanni Croce. Newly Englished.*

In London. Printed by Thomas Este, the assigne of William Barley. 1608. 4to. *Huth. British Museum.* 1611. 4to.

The only clue to the translator is a preface, "To the vertuous Louers of Musicke," signed "R. H.;" it states that the sonnets here set to music were written in Italian by Francesco Bembo, and were so admired by Croce that he decided on setting them to music.

In Lowndes, the title reads, *Musica Sacra, the Seven Penitential Psalms to six voyces*, 1608, 6 pts., and a note from Peacham confirms the subtitle,—

"While he [Giovanni Croce] lived, he was one of the most free and brave companions in the world. Nevertheless his compositions are all of a devout and serious kind, and of these his *Penitentiall Psalms*, which have been printed with English words, are the best."

Henry Peacham, M. A. *The Compleat Gentleman.* Ed. 1661.

1609. *The Famous Whore, or Noble Curtizan: conteining the lamentable complaint of Paulina, the famous Roman Curtizan, sometime m^{re}. unto the great Cardinall Hypolito of Est. By Garvis Markham* [translated into verse from the Italian. Lowndes].

London. Printed by N. O[kes] for John Budge, and are to be sold at his shop by the great South gate of Paules. 1609. 4to. 21 leaves. *British Museum.*

The Famous Whore, or Noble Curtizan, by Gervase or Jervis Markham, 1609. Edited by Frederick Ouvry.

London. Privately printed. 1868. 4to. *Huth.*

J. P. Collier describes *The Famous Whore*, in his account of the Ellesmere collection (*Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, under Markham), but says nothing about its being translated from the Italian, as Lowndes and the *Dictionary of National Biography* agree.

Cardinal Ippolito of Este was the first patron of Ariosto, and so indifferent a one that all the reward the poet received for dedicating to him the *Orlando Furioso* was the question, *Dove avete trovato, messer Lodovico, tante minchionerie?* 'Where did you find so many trifles, Master Ludovic?' Paulina quotes Ariosto and refers to him and his stories several times.

1610. *A Musicall Banquet. Furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres, collected [by Robert Dowland] out of the best Authors in English, French, Spanish, and Italian.*

Printed for T. Adams, London, 1610, folio. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, godfather to the author.

1611. *The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Murray. Scotto-Brittain.*

At London. Printed for John Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleetstreet, under the Diall. 1611. 8vo.

Dedicated in two sonnets to Prince Henry. At the close of *Sophonisba*, occurs with a new title,—

Coelia: containing certaine Sonets. By David Murray, Scotto-Brittain.

At London. Printed for John Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard, in Fleet street, under the Diall. 1611. 8vo. *British Museum. Britwell. Bridgewater House.*

Dedicated to Richard, Lord Dingwell.

Reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, and edited by Thomas Kinnear. Edinburgh. 1823. 4to. *British Museum.*

Sophonisba is a long poem in seventeen seven-line stanzas not always smoothly constructed, although there is an occasional burst into genuine poetry, as we have so good an authority as Michael Drayton, in an introductory sonnet, to testify.

To my kinde friend, Da. Murray.

In new attire, and put most neatly on,
 Thou, Murray, mak'st thy passionate Queene appeare,
 As when she sat on the Numidian throne,
 Deck't with those gems that most refulgent were.
 So thy strong Muse her, maker like, repaires,
 That from the ruins of her wasted urne,
 Into a body of delicious ayres
 Againe her spirit doth transmigrated turne.
 That scorching soile which thy great subject bore,
 Bred those that coldly but express'd her merit;
 But breathing now upon our colder shore,
 Here shee hath found a noble fiery spirit:
 Both there and here, so fortunate for Fame,
 That what she was, she's every where the same.

M. Drayton.

Coelia consists of a collection of twenty-six sonnets after the Italian model, a pastoral ballad called *The Complaint of the Shepherd Harpalus*, and an 'Epitaph on the Death of his Deare Cousin M. David Moray.'

The author is Sir David Murray of Gorthy, 1567-1629.

The romance of *Sophonisba* appeared first in English in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, where it is the seventh novel of the second volume, 1567. It is found in Italian in Bandello, 1, 41, in Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and it is the subject of the first two Italian tragedies. *La Sofonisba*, 1502, by Galeotto del Canetto, a piece in fifteen or twenty acts, regardless of unity of scene, is the earliest Italian tragedy. But the play that is usually associated with the beginning of tragedy in Italian—that with which "th' Italian scene first learned to glow," is *La Sofonisba*, by Giovan Giorgio Trissino, acted in 1515 before Pope Leo X. Trissino's play is written in blank verse (*verso sciollo*), instead of the *ottava* and *terza rima* of the earlier tragedies.

Marston first dramatized the theme in English, in *The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba her Tragedy*, 1606. 4to.

Later two other English plays are founded on it,—

Sophonisba, or Hannibal's Overthrow. 1676. Nathaniel Lee.

Sophonisba, by James Thomson, first acted Feb. 28, 1730.

See I. *Romances*, *Painter's Palace of Pleasure*, 1566, and *Bandello*, 1580.

1612. *Petrarch's seven Penitentiall Psalms, paraphrastically translated. With other Philosophicall Poems, and a Hymne to Christ upon the Crosse. Written by George Chapman.* [Mottoes from Arrian's *Epictetus*.]

London. Imprinted by Matthew Selman dwelling in Fleete-streete neare Chancerie Lane. 1612. 4to. (8vo., Hazlitt.) 50 leaves. *Bodleian*.

A translation of Petrarch's *Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales*.

1615. *The Blazon of Iealousie. A Subject not written of by any heretofore. First written in Italian, by that learned Gentleman Benedetto Varchi, sometimes Lord Chancellor unto the Signorie of Venice: and translated into English, with speciall Notes upon the same, by R. [obert] T. [ofte] Gentleman.*

London. Printed by T. S. for John Busbie, and are to be sould at his shop in S. Dunstan's Church-yard in Fleet street. 1615. 4to. Pp. 87 + 14. *British Museum*.

Dedicated "To Sir Edward Dymock Knight, the most worthy and generous champion unto the Sacred Maiestie of Great Britaine, etc."

Tofte's marginal Notes are more interesting than his poem. He quotes, to illustrate his text, among other writers,—Chapman: *Hero and Leander* and *Hymnus in Cynthiam*, Spenser: *The Faery Queene*, Constable: *Diana*, Drayton: *Mortimeriad*, and Wither: *Abuses Stript and Whipt*.

The Epistle "To the Courteous Reader" praises Gascoigne and Turberville pleasantly, "since they first brake the Ice for

our quainter Poets, that now write, that they might the more safer swimme in the maine Ocean of sweet Poesie."

Referring to Markham's plagiarism Tofte says,—“I had thought for thy better contentment to have inserted (at the end of this booke) the disastrous fall of three noble Romane gentlemen ouerthrowne thorow jealousie, in their loues; but the same was (with Ariosto's *Satyres* translated by mee out of Italian into English verse, and notes upon the same) printed without my consent or knowledge, in another man's name: so that I might justly (although not so worthily) complaine as Virgil did: *Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*”

The *Blazon of Jealousie* was first delivered by Varchi as an oration before the academy of the *Infiammati* at Padua. It was then published by the author's friend, Francesco Sansovino, who dedicates it “to the no lesse noble than faire, and yet not more faire than learned, the Lady Gaspara Stampa.”

Of women Petrarchists, Gaspara Stampa, “sweet songstress and most excellent musician,” ranks among the first.

Benedetto Varchi was an Italian poet and historian of high repute, and a friend to Cosimo dei Medici, first grand-duke of Tuscany. He wrote the oration for the funeral of Michael Angelo, in 1564.

1616. *Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastorall: in Sonnets, Songs, Sextains, Madrigals: By W. D.* [William Drummond], *Author of the Teares on the Death of Moeliades.*

Edinburgh. Printed by Andro Hart. 1616. 4to. Also, 1616. 4to. Second edition. *British Museum. Bodleian:* London. 1656. 8vo. Pp. 224. *Brit. Mus.* With portrait by R. Gaywood. Edited by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew: London. 1659. 8vo. (duplicate of preceding). *Brit. Mus.:* Edinburgh. 1711. Folio. *Brit. Mus.* (Bishop Sage and Thomas Ruddiman: London. 1791. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.:* 1793. 8vo. (Anderson's *Poets of Great Britain.*) *Brit. Mus.:* 1810. 8vo. (*Chalmer's English Poets.*) *Brit. Mus.:* Edinburgh. 1832. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* (for the Maitland Club, by Lord

Dundrennan and David Irving): London. 1833. 12mo.
Brit. Mus. (Peter Cunningham): Edinburgh. 1852. 8vo.
Brit. Mus.: London. 1856. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* (W. B. Turnbull.)

Sonnet, of *Poems. The First Part*,

Sleep, Silence' child, sweet father of soft rest,

The invocation is imitated from Marini's *O del Silentio figlio*.

Compare Daniel, Sonnet LIIII., of *Delia*,

Care-charmer Sleepe, sonne of the sable Night,

Sonnet, of *Poems. The First Part*,

Dear wood, and you, sweet solitary place,

as well as the Sonnet, entitled *The Praise of a Solitary Life*,
 from *Urania, or Spiritual Poems*,

Thrice happy he, who by some shady grove,

are to be found in substance in the three 'Asclepiadics' sung
 by Dorus at the close of the second book of Sidney's *Arcadia*,

O sweet woods, the delight of solitarinesse,

Sidney's model was Pietro Bembo, *Sonetto LIV.*,

*Lieta e chiusa contrada, ov' io m'involo
 Al vulgo, e meco vivo, e meco albergo*

Sonnet, of *Poems. The First Part*,

Alexis, here she stayed ; among these pines,

Compare this sonnet with Petrarch, *Sonetto LXXII., Parte prima*,

Avventuroso più d'altro terreno

Drummond's closing couplet,

But ah ! what served it to be happy so
Sith passèd pleasures double but new woe ?

was probably recollected from Dante's beautiful and pathetic story of Paolo and Francesca,

*Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria ;*

Inferno. Canto v, 121-3.

The sentiment occurs in English, however, before Drummond, in Chaucer, *Troilus and Cryseyde. lib. iii. cccxxvi :*

For, of fortunes scharp adversité
The worste kynde of infortune is this,
A man to han ben in prosperité,
And it remembren, when it passed is.

And also in the old play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, by Thomas Hughes, 1587,

Of all misfortunes and unhappy fates
Th' unhappiest seemes to have been happy once ;

Tennyson, in *Locksley Hall*, has put Chaucer's four lines into one imperishable verse,

A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.

Sonnet, of *Poems. The Second Part*,

Sweet soul, which in the April of thy years.

Compare with this, Petrarch. *Sonetto LXVIII., Parte seconda*,

Dolce mio caro e prezioso pegno

Sonnet, of *Flowers of Sion*, called by Main, *The Sheepheards*,

O than the fairest Day, thrice fairer Night !

The last verse of this sonnet,

And Springs ranne Nector, Honey dropt from Trees,

is taken from Daniel's Pastoral, in *Delia*,

O Happie golden Age !

Not for that Riuers ranne

With streames of milke, and hunny dropt from trees ;

Daniel translated from Tasso's *Aminta*, *O bella età dell' oro*.
See *Torquato Tasso's Aminta Englisht*. 1628.

Sonnet, of *Flowers of Sion*, *To a Nightingale*,

Sweet bird, that sing'st away the early hours,

This sonnet is in part an echo of Petrarch. *Sonetto LXXXIX*.
Parte seconda,

Vago augelletto, che cantando vai,

Compare also, Pietro Bembo, *Sonetto III*,

Vago augelletto, ch'al mio bel soggiorno,

Drummond's Italian studies, he also wrote English sestinas, help to explain that interesting crux, his authorship of *Polemio-Middinia. Carmen Macaronicum*. (1691. 4to.) This satirical poem, considering its length and its seriousness of literary purpose, is the earliest imitation in English of the macaronic or dog-Latin verse of Folengo. There seems little doubt but that Drummond was the author, nor indeed is it any more curious that such an accomplished poet should have written a macaronic, than that he should have taken out a patent "for the making of military machines," Thundering Rods, Shooting Pikes, Fiery Waggon, Sea-postillions, Leviathans, and like engines of death and destruction. All that we know of Drummond of Hawthornden shows him a many-sided man.

1620. *The Maidens Blush: or, Joseph. . . . From the Latin of Fracastorius, translated . . . by J. Sylvester.*

Printed by H. L., London. 1620. 8vo. *British Museum.*
Also, 1879. 4to. *The Complete Works of Joshua Sylvester. Part XXIV. The Chertsey Worthies' Library.* A. B. Grosart.

The Maiden's Blush, or Joseph, is a translation of a Latin poem, in two books, entitled *Joseph*, by Girolamo Fracastoro. The subject is the story of Joseph, and Sylvester tells it, incompletely, in eighteen hundred pentameter lines, riming in couplets. The concluding couplet runs,

Here, Death preventing Fracastorious,
This late begun, Hee left un-ended Thus.

1623. *The Whole Workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetrie.*

London. Printed by Nicholas Okes, for Simon Waterson, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Crowne. 1623. 4to. *British Museum.*

Brought out by the poet's brother, John Daniel, and dedicated "To the most high and most illustrious Prince Charles His Excellence."

In this edition of Daniel's poems, there appeared for the first time, *A Description of Beauty, translated out of Marino* (Giovanni Battista Marini),—

"O Beauty (beames, nay flame
Of that great lampe of light)
That shines a while, with fame,
But presently makes night:" etc.

1644. *The Triumphs of Love: Chastitie: Death: Translated out of Petrarch by Mrs. Anna Hume.*

Edinburgh. Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1644. Sm. 8vo. 55 leaves. *British Museum, Huth, and Bodleian.*



Dedicated, "To the most excellent Princesse her Highnesse, the Princesse Elisabeth, Eldest daughter to the King of Bohemia."

Anna Hume was the daughter of David Hume, of Godscroft, author of *The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*. (Edinburgh. 1644. Folio). She superintended the publication of her father's book, and was the friend of Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond wrote to her as "the learned and worthy gentlewoman, Mrs. Anna Hume," and declared himself unworthy of "the blazon of so pregnant and rare a wit."

1646. *Steps to the Temple. Sacred Poems, With other Delights of the Muses.* By Richard Crashaw, sometimes of Pembroke Hall, and late Fellow of S. Peters Coll. in Cambridge. Printed and Published according to Order.

London. Printed by T. W. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Princes Armes in St Pauls Churchyard. 1646. 12mo. 1648. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1670. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* (with *Carmen Deo Nostro*). 1858. 12mo. *Brit. Mus.* 1872. 12mo. Vol. I. (A. B. Grosart, *The Fuller Worthies' Library*.)

Among Crashaw's *Sacred Poems* is a translation, or rather an interpretive expansion, of Marini's *Sospetto d'Herode*, the first canto of his *Strage degli Innocenti*, or Massacre of the Innocents (Venice, 1633, 4to.), while three love lyrics of *The Delights of the Muses*, 'Songs out of the Italian,' show how deeply the mystic poet of *The Flaming Heart* had drunk at the fountain-head of Italian inspiration.

The *Delights* opens with the celebrated piece, entitled *Musick's Duell*, which Crashaw paraphrased from the Latin of Famiano Strada. The pretty fable of the rivalry between the lutanist and the nightingale, occurs in Strada's *Prolusiones et Paradigmata eloquentiae*, published at Cologne, in 1617, and at Oxford, in 1631; it is in the sixth lecture of the second

course on poetic style, where Strada introduces it simply as an exercise in imitation of the style of the Roman poet Claudian.

Before the appearance of Crashaw's poem, John Ford made use of the fable in his tragicomedy, *The Lover's Melancholy*, 1629. In our own time, François Coppée has used it with charming effect in his fine little comedy, *Le Luthier de Crémone*. Scene VII.

b. PLAYS.

1572. *Supposes: A Comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne of Grayes Inne Esquire, and their presented.* 1566.

London, for Richarde Smith, n. d. [1572]. 4to. *British Museum*. Also, [1575.] 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1587. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*

Supposes was first printed in Gascoigne's *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres*, 1572. It is a translation of Ariosto's *Gli Suppositi*, 1519, and is of great historic interest as the earliest extant comedy in English prose. Shakspeare borrowed from it the intrigue of Lucentio, and the quaint name, Petruchio, for *The Taming of the Shrew*. It also gave to dramatic literature the ridiculous name and character of Doctor Doddipoll.

A play called *The Wisdom of Doctor Doddipoll*, probably by George Peele, was published in 1600, as acted by the children of Paul's.

1572. *Jocasta. A Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides, translated and digested into Acte, by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmershe of Grayes Inne, and there by them presented,* 1566.

London, for Richarde Smithe, n. d. [1572]. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*. Also, [1575.] 4to. Black letter. *Brit. Mus.*, and 1587. 4to. Black letter. *Brit. Mus.* 1868-70. 4to. 2 vols. Ed. W. Carew Hazlitt. The Roxburghe Library.

Like the *Supposes*, *Jocasta* was acted in Gray's Inn, probably at Christmas, 1566, and was first published in Gascoigne's

A hundreth Sundrie Flowres, 1572. It is a translation of Lodovico Dolce's tragedy, *Giocasta*, 1549, Gascoigne translating Acts ii, iii, and v, and Kinwelmarsh Acts i and iv. The Epilogue, in quatrains, was written by a third student of Gray's Inn, Christopher, afterwards, Sir Christopher, Yelverton. Some parts of the choral odes are original, and the tragedy is noteworthy as the second English play written in blank verse.

Jocasta was long supposed to be a translation of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, although Warton pointed out that it was "by no means a just or exact translation," but rather "partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgement, of the Greek tragedy." It is now known that so far from translating from Euripides was Gascoigne, that he found his original in Dolce's *Giocasta*, which is an Italian version of Seneca's imitation of the *Phoenissae*.

Both Prof. Mahaffy and Mr. Symonds (*Shakspeare's Predecessors*, Ch. vi, pp. 221-222) call attention to the closeness of the English play to its Italian original.

Prof. Mahaffy says,—“It professes to be an independent translation of Euripides, but I was surprised to find it really to be a literal translation of Dolce's Italian version, without any trace of an appeal to the original. Thus the *παιδαγωγός* is called the *Bailo*, a regular Venetian title.

Its chief literary interest lies in the loose paraphrase of Eteocles' speech (where he asserts that he means to hold the tyranny in spite of all opposition), which appears to have suggested directly to Shakspeare the speech of Hotspur in the first part of *Henry IV.*, i. 3. So far as I know, this is the only direct contact with, or rather direct obligation to, the Greek tragedy in Shakspeare.”

A History of Greek Classical Literature. Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Vol. I, pp. 365-6.

If there is here a touch between the Greek and English dramas, it is interesting to note it, and I give the supposed suggestion on his way,—

Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδέν, μήτηρ, ἀποκρίψας ἐρῶ·
 ἄστρον ἂν ἔλθοιμ' αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀντολὰς
 καὶ γῆς ἔνερθε, δυνατὸς ὦν δρᾶσαι τάδε,
 τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα.

Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 503–506.

*Dal parer di costui lungo cammino,
 Madre (per dir il vero), è il mio lontano.
 Ne' vi voglio occultar che, s'io potessi
 Su nel Cielo regnar, e giù in Inferno,
 Non me spaventeria fatica, o affano,
 Per titrovar al mio desio la strada
 Di gire in questo, o di salir in quello:*

Lodovico Dolce, *Giocasta*, ii. 1.

To say the truth (mother) this mind of mine
 Doth fleet full farre from that farfetch of his,
 Ne will I longer cover my conceit :
 If I could rule or reign in heaven above,
 And eke commaund in depth of darksome hell,
 No toile ne trauell should my spirit abashe
 To take the way unto my restlesse will.

Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, ii, 1.

By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap
 To pluck bright Honor from the pale-faced moon,
 Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
 Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,
 And pluck up drowned Honor by the locks ;
 So he that doth redeem her hence might wear
 Without corival all her dignities.

Shakspeare, *I. Henry IV.*, i. 3.

It will be seen that Gascoigne is much nearer to Dolce than to Euripides, and that it is a far cry from Gascoigne to Shakspeare. I have made a collection of Shakspeare's allusions to his predecessors and contemporaries in the drama, and in

almost every instance his way of quoting is as clear as the daylight. He simply takes their very words and transmutes them, giving them in the briefest possible space that inimitable quality that we call Shakspearean; for example, Trico's song in Lyly's *Campaspe*, v. 1, runs,

"Who is 't now we hear?
None but the lark so shrill and cleare;
How at heaven's gates she claps her wings,
The morn not waking till she sings."

The beautiful aubade in *Cymbeline*, ii. 3, begins,

Hark, hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings,
And Phoebus 'gins arise.

I. Henry IV. was printed eight times during the Elizabethan period, oftener than any other play of Shakspeare, and Hotspur's grandiloquent speech must have become familiar to playgoers, for we find it parodied in the Induction to Beaumont and Fletcher's satirical comedy, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1613.

1578. *The Right Excellent And Famous Historye Of Prometheus and Cassandra: Diuided into Commical Discourses. In the Fyrste Parte is showne, The unsufferable Abuse of a lewde Magistrate. The vertuous Behauiours of a chaste Ladye. The uncontroled Leaudenes of a fauoured Curtisan: And the undeserved Estimation of a pernicious Parasyte. In the Second Parte is discoursed, The perfect Magnanimitye of a noble Kinge, In checking Vice and fauouringe Vertue. Wherein is showne, The Ruyne and Ouerthrowe of dishonest Practices: with the Ad-uancement of upright Dealing. The Worke of George Whetstones Gent. Formae nulla fides.*

[Colophon.] Imprinted at London by Richarde Jhones, and are to be solde ouer agaynst Saint Sepulchres Church

without Newgate. August 20, 1578. 4to. Black letter. Bodleian. British Museum. Capell Coll. Mr. Corser.

Dedicated to the author's kinsman, 'William Fleetwoode, Esq.', Recorder of London.

Each part is a play in five acts, and in verse. Shakspere's *Measure for Measure* is founded on this play whose plot comes from Giraldi Cintio, *Gli Ecatommiti*, Deca VIII, Novella 5. The same story is also told by Whetstone, in prose, in his *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, 1582, where it is entitled *The Rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra*.

Giraldi dramatized his own novella in the tragedy, *Epitia*.

[1584?.] *Fidele and Fortuna. The deceiptes in loue Discoursed in a Commedie of ij Italian gent[lemen], and translated into English.*

Title-page not extant, but in *Register B* it is licensed to Thomas Hackett, Nov. 12, 1584.

Dedicated to John Heardson, Esq., by A. M. (Anthony Munday.)

The play is written in rhyme, and is interesting as an early type of a musical comedy. It contains but two songs, but at the end of the first act, "the consort of musique soundeth a pleasant galliard," at the end of the second, "the consort soundeth again," at the end of the third, "sounds a sollemne dump," and after the fourth, "soundeth a pleasant allemaigne."

Song.

If looue be like the flower that in the night,
 When darknes drownes the glory of the skyes :
 Smelles sweet, and glitters in the gazers sight,
 But when the gladsom sun beginnes to rise,
 And he that viewes it would the same imbrace,
 It withereth, and looseth all his grace.
 Why do I looue and like the cursed tree,
 Whose buddes appeer, but fruite will not be seen :

Why doo I languish for the flower I see?
 Whose root is rot when all the leaues are green.
 In such a case it is a point of skill,
 To followe chaunce, and looue against my will.
British Bibliographer, Vol. II, p. 164.

[1589?]. *A certayne Tragedie wrytten fyrst in Italian by F. N. B., entituled, Freewyl, and translated into English by H[enry] Cheeke.*

London, by John Tysdale, n. d. [1589?]. 4to. Black letter. 211 pages, besides dedication, prefatory epistle to the reader, and 'faults.'

Entered on the *Stationers' Register A*, May 11, 1561.

In five acts and in prose.

Dedicated to Lady Cheynie, or Cheyney, of Toddington, Bedfordshire. Cheeke says in his Dedication, "wherein is set forth in manner of a Tragedie the deuylish deuse of the Popishe religion whiche pretendeth holynesse onely for gayne."

The original is an Italian morality play entitled *Tragedia di F. N. [egri] B. [assanese] intitolata, Libero Arbitrio*. 1546. 4to. The morality, like the translation, is in five acts and in prose. It is in the Library of Cambridge University, together with a Latin version by John Crispin, *Liberum Arbitrium; tragoedia*. . . . *Nunc primum ab ipso authore Latine scripta et edita. Apud Crispinum*: [Geneva.] 1559. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*

Fleay (*Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 366, under Translators,) gives,

"Bristowe, Francis, *King Freewill*, T. 1635. MS. From the French, *Roy Franc Arbitre*, T. 1558; translated from the Italian."

The French original of this translation is *Tragedie du Roy Franc-arbitre, nouvellement traduite d'Italien* [of F. Negri de Bassano] *en François. Chez Jean Crespin*. [Geneva.] 1558. 8vo. *British Museum*.

Jean Crespin, a French Protestant who died at Geneva in 1572, was an author and printer of the type of the celebrated

Estienne family; whether he is John Crispin, author of the Latin version of this morality, I do not know.

The interlocutors of the morality are seventeen in number, among them the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the archangel Raphael, but the piece is in no sense dramatic.

Freewyl is the son of Reason and Will, and prince of the province of Humane operations. The schoolmen take him to Rome to live, where the Pope makes him a Christian, a papist, and a most puissant king; in spite of this, however, the 'humane operations' consist in proving the Pope to be the true antichrist.—*British Bibliographer*, Vol. 1, p. 362.

1602. *Il Pastor Fido; or the Faithfull Shepheard, translated out of Italian into English.* [By [Charles] Dymock.]

London. Printed for Simon Waterson. 1602. 4to. *British Museum*. Also, 1633. 12mo. *British Museum*.

Prefixed to the quarto edition are verses by Samuel Daniel to Sir Edward Dymock, who is called kinsman of the translator. The duodecimo edition is dedicated to Charles Dymock, Esq., son of the translator. The translation, "in spite of Daniel's commendatory sonnet, is a very bad one." Dyce, Introduction to Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

Il Pastor Fido, by Giovanni Battista Guarini, was first published in 1590, although written some years earlier. The edition of 1602 was the twentieth, so popular was this pastoral. Nor did the popularity of *Il Pastor Fido* cease with the author's lifetime. On the contrary, the influence of the drama, its sentiment and its sensuousness, made itself felt in the art and manners of Europe for nearly two centuries, down to the new order of the French Revolution. The explanation of this enduring quality is found in the two most striking characteristics of the pastoral. In the first place, *Il Pastor Fido* is not a pastoral at all, in the sense that Tasso's *Aminta* is; there is little or no real rusticity in it. Rather it is a reflection of contemporary life and feeling, *Il Pastor Fido* is Italy at the close of the Renaissance. And it was written, in the

full maturity of his powers, by a poet who was at once a man of the world, like Boccaccio, and a scholarly recluse, like Petrarch. Guarini's thought is never profound, but it is always wise with experience, and it is expressed in language that is almost perfect, so contained and yet so brilliant, so popular and yet so classical. It is the *juste milieu* of style.

I find three plays on the subject of *Il Pastor Fido*.

1. *The Faithful Shepherdess*, a pastoral tragi-comedy, by John Fletcher, was acted about 1608; printed, in quarto, no date, 1629, 1634, 1656, 1665. Done into Latin verse by Sir Richard Fanshawe, as *La Fida Pastora*, 1658.

2. *Pastor Fidus*, a Latin drama, of unknown author and date, was acted at King's College. Cambridge. MS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge.

3. *The Faithful Shepherd*. By D. D. Gent. 1633. Halliwell. Fleay does not mention this play in his *Chronicle of the English Drama*.

1610. *Honours Academie. Or the Famous Pastorall, of the faire Shepheardesse, Julietta* [by Olenix du Mont Sacré, i. e. Nicolas de Montreux]. *A worke admirable, and rare, Sententious and grave: and no lesse profitable, then pleasant to peruse. Wherein are many notable Discourses, as well Philosophicall, as Diuine: Most part of the Seven Liberal Sciences, being comprehended therein: with diuers Comickall, and Tragicall Histories, in Prose and Verse, of all sorts. Done into English by R. [obert] T. [ofte] Gentleman.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Creede. 1610. [Colophon.]

London. Printed by Thomas Creede, dwelling in the old Change, neere old Fishstreete, at the signe of the Eagle and Childe. 1610. Folio. 123 leaves. *Huth. British Museum* (3 copies).

Dedicated to Lady Anne Herne, wife of Sir Edward Herne, K. B.

Hazlitt's queer note on this piece is, "(Ariosto, Boiardo, Tasso), Tofte, whom his contemporaries christened *Robin*

Redbreast, appears to have verses prefixed to Studley's translation of Bale's *Pageant of Popes*."

Honours Academie is "tedious and ill put together. The verse especially is cumbrous and unmusical."—A. B. Grosart. *Occasional Issues*, Vol. XII.

1628. *T[orquato] Tasso's Aminta. Englisht. To this is added Ariadne's Complaint in imitation of Anguillara [Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara]; written by the Translator of Tasso's Aminta.*

Meglio e il poco terreno ben coltuare, che'l molto lasciar per mal gouerno miseramente imboscire. Sannaz.

London. Printed by Aug: Mathewes for William Lee, and are to bee sold at the Signe of the Turkes Head in Fleetstreet. 1628. 4to. 47 leaves. *British Museum* (2 copies).

Tasso's *Aminta* was acted at Ferrara, in 1573; it appeared first from the Aldine press, (Venice. 1581. Sm. 8vo.). Halliwell, possibly upon the authority of the *British Museum Catalogue*, conjectures the translator to be 'John Reynolds,' but there is entered in *Register D*, to William Lee, Nov. 7, 1627, "A booke called '*Torquato Tassos Aminta Englished*' by Henry Reynoldes."

Henry Reynolds has a song in each of the three parts of Henry Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two, and Three Voyces*, (1653, 1655, 1658. Folio). Drayton also addressed his epistle, *Of Poets and Poesie*, 1627, "To my dearly loved Friend, Henry Reynolds, Esq."

There is a song by H. Reynolds, in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, Vol. VI, under the caption *Poetical Extracts from Various Uncommon Books*.

Love above Beauty.

I.

Lovely Chloris, though thine eyes
Far outshine the jewelled skies,

That grace which all admire in thee,
 No nor the beauties of thy brest,
 Which far outblaze the rest,
 Might ere compared be
 To my fidelitie.

II.

Those alluring smiles that place
 Eternal April on thy face,
 Such as no sun did ever see,
 No nor the treasures of thy brest,
 Which far outblaze the rest,
 Might ere compared be
 To my fidelitie.

Samuel Daniel, in *Delia*, 1592, translated Tasso's famous chorus at the close of the first act of *Aminta*, *O bella età dell' oro*.

Compare Drummond, *Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastorall*, 1616.

1637. *Pleasant Dialogues and Drama's, selected out of Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, &c. With sundry Emblems extracted from the most elegant Jacobus Catsius. As also certaine Elegies, Epitaphs, and Epithalamions or Nuptiall Songs; Anagrams and Acrostics; With divers Speeches (upon severall occasions) spoken to their most Excellent Majesties, King Charles, and Queene Mary. With other Fancies translated from Besa, Buchanan, and sundry Italian Poets. By Tho. Heywood. [Aut prodesse solent, aut delectare.]*

London. Printed by R. O. for R. H. and are to be sold by Thomas Slater at the Swan in Duck-lane. 1637. Sm. 8vo. 152 leaves. *Huth. British Museum.*

Dedicated "To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Lord Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Dover."

A collection of short dramatic pieces and poetical dialogues nowhere else printed. There is also a collection of Prologues and Epilogues. Here is a little song quite in the spirit of Heywood's cheerful *Good-Morrow Song*;—

A Song.

Howsoe're the minutes go,
Run the houres or swift or slow :
Seem the months or short or long,
Passe the seasons right or wrong :
All we sing that Phoebus follow,
Semel in anno ridet Apollo.

Early fall the Spring or not,
Prove the Summer cold or hot :
Autumne be it faire or foule,
Let the Winter smile or skowle :
Still we sing that Phoebus follow,
Semel in anno ridet Apollo.

British Bibliographer, Vol. I, p. 451.

1638. *The Tragedie of Alceste and Eliza. As it is found in Italian, in La Croce racquistata. Collected, and translated into English, in the same verse, and number. By Fr. Br. Gent. At the request of the right Vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Wingfield, Wife unto that noble Knight, Sir Anthony Wingfield Baronet, his Majesties High Shiriffe for the County of Suffolk.*

London. Printed by Th. Harper for John Waterson, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Crown. 1638. 8vo. 39 leaves. *Bodleian. Mr. Corser. British Museum.*

I do not know whether this piece is a tragedy, or a tragical history in verse. Whichever it is, it is taken from Francesco Bracciolini's *La Croce racquistata, poema eroico, canti 15. Parigi. 1605. 8vo. Brit. Mus. Also, Venetia, 1611. 4to.*

Brit. Mus., and 1614. 12mo. *Brit. Mus.*; and *Piacenza*. 1613. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*

The subject of Bracciolini's poem is the restitution of the true cross to the holy sepulchre. The history of this event, the carrying off of the cross by the Persian King Chosroes II., in 614, and its restitution, in 629, by the Emperor Heraclius, is very dramatically told by Gibbon, in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter XLVI, pp. 460-485.

Many Italian critics place *La Croce racquistata* next to Tasso's *Jerusalemme Liberata*, next but a long way after is Tiraboschi's cautious judgment.

1648-47. *Il Pastor Fido. The faithfull Shepheard with An Addition of divers other Poems Concluding with a short Discourse of the Long Civill Warres of Rome. To His Highnesse the Prince of Wales. By Richard Fanshaw, Esq. Horat. Patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.*

London. Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Princes Armes in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1648-'47. 4to. (A second titlepage for the *Pastor Fido* alone bears the date 1647.) With portrait of Giovanni Battista Guarini, by J. Cross. *Huth. British Mus.* Also, 1664. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1676. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1677. 4to. 1689. 4to. 1694. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1736. 12mo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, with commendatory verses by John (afterwards Sir John) Denham.

Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's celebrated pastoral was made for the marriage of Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, to the Infanta of Spain. It is the best English translation of *Il Pastor Fido*. The edition of 1677 (1689-1694) is Elkanah Settle's adaptation of the piece to the stage; that of 1736 contains plates and the original Italian of Guarini. Sir Richard Fanshawe's chief work is a translation of the *Lusiad* by Luiz de Camoens (London, 1655), so well done that it is still a standard translation.

For plays on the subject of *Il Pastor Fido*, see Dymock's translation, 1602.

1655. *Filli di Sciro or Phillis of Scyros, an excellent Pastorall, written in Italian by C. Guid. de Bonarelli, translated into English by J. S. Gent.*

London. 1655. 4to. *British Museum.*

A translation of *Filli di Sciro: favola pastorale* (in five acts and in verse), by Count Guido Ubaldo Bonarelli della Rovere. Ferrara, 1607. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* With Prologue, *La Notte*, by Giovanni Battista Marini.

"An excellent pastoral, written in Italian by C. Gindubaldo de Bonarelli, and translated into English by *J. S. gent.* By some verses prefixed to this translation, it appears to have been made twenty years before. A translation was at the same time made of *Pastor Fido*, but both of them were laid aside. Coxeter imagines that these translations were produced by Sir Edward Sherborne, who was then only seventeen years old. The initial letters seem to point out James Shirley as the translator."—*Biographia Dramatica.*

1658. *A Chaine of Golden Poems embellished with Wit, Mirth, and Eloquence. Together with two most excellent Comedies, (viz.) The Obstinate Lady, and Trappolin suppos'd a Prince. Written by S^r Aston Cokayn.*

London. Printed by W. G. and are to be sold by Isaac Pridmore, at the Golden-Fleece near the New-Exchange. 1658. Sm. 8vo. With portrait of the author. *Huth. British Museum.*

This book was issued with four different title-pages: *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, 1658, *A Chain of Golden Poems, &c.*, 1658, *Poems. With The Obstinate Lady, &c.*, 1662, *Choice Poems of Several Sorts*, 1669.

Trappolin supposed a Prince in an adaptation of an Italian tragi-comedy in prose and verse, entitled *Trappolino creduto Principe*, as the Prologue explains:—

“Gallants, be't known, as yet we cannot say
 To whom we are beholding for this play;
 But this our poet hath licens'd us to tell,
 Ingenious Italy hath liked it well.
 Yet it is no translation; for he ne'er
 But twice in Venice did it ever hear.”

1660. *Aminta: the famous Pastoral, written in Italian by Signor Torquato Tasso, and translated into English Verse by John Dancer. Together with divers ingenious Poems.*

London: 1660. 8vo. 74 leaves.

C. METRICAL ROMANCES.

1555. *The Auncient Historie and onely trewe and syncere Cronicle of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans, and subsequently of the fyrst evercyon of the auncient and famouse Oytte of Troye, under Lamedon the King, and of the laste and fynall destruction of the same under Pryam; wrytten by Daretus a Troyan, and Dictus a Grecian, both souldiours, and present in all the sayde warres; and digested in Latyn by the lerned Guydo de Columpnis [Guido delle Colonna, who was the compiler of the work] and sythes translated into englyshe verse by J. Lydgate Moncke of Burye. [Edited by Robert Braham.]*

Thomas Marshe, London, 1555. Folio. Black letter. *British Museum.*

Lydgate mainly paraphrased Guido delle Colonna's *Historia de Bello Trojano*, and perhaps Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. His poem is made up of fifteen thousand heroic couplets, with prologue and epilogue.

The poets of the Middle Ages all accepted Dares Phrygius, priest of Hephaestus, as a trustworthy historian who had himself been in the Trojan war. Homer, known only in a Latin abridgment, received scant credence, and even abuse, as a falsifier of history. The *Roman de Troie*, based, among other sources, upon Dares, comes into English in two distinct streams,

to either of which we may be indebted for Shakspeare's play of *Troilus and Cressida*.

Benott de Sainte-Maure, a French trouvère of the Court of Henry II., dedicated to the Queen, Aliénor de Poitou, his *Roman de Troie*, of about 1160. The most important episode of Benott is that of Troilus and Briseida, which in the Latin version of the *Roman* made by Guido delle Colonna, 1287, suggested to Boccaccio the *Filostrato*. Boccaccio, through Chaucer (*Troilus and Cryseyde*) and Lydgate, may thus be Shakspeare's source.

In 1464, Raoul le Fèvre's *Roman de Troie*, a translation of Guido delle Colonna, gave to French literature a second Trojan cycle. Caxton's *Recuyell of the historyes of Troye* [1474?] is a translation of Le Fèvre; this book went through several editions, and appears finally as *The ancient historie of the destruction of Troy*. . . . "Newly corrected, and the English much amended," by William Phiston. 1607. 4to.

Thomas Paynell, another translator, Englished, *The faythfull and true storye of the Destruction of Troy, compyled by Dares Phrygius*. John Cawood. London. 1553. 8vo. Bodleian.

Or the source of Shakspeare's history may be an older play of the same name; *Henslowe's Diary* of April 7 and 16, and May 30, 1599, records full payment, to Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker, for "the Boocke called the tragedie of Troylles and cresseda."

1562. *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar[thur] Br[oke]*. In Aedibus Richardi Tottelli. Cum Priuilegio. [Colophon.]

Imprinted at London in Fletestrete within Temble [sic] barre, at the signe of the hand and starre, by Richard Tottill the XIX. day of November. An. do. 1562. Sm. 8vo. Black letter. Bodleian. Huth. (Kemble's copy). Capell Collection.

J. P. Collier. *Shakespeare's Library*. Vol. i. 1875. 8vo. P. A. Daniel, for *New Shakspeare Society*. Part i. 1875. 8vo.

This metrical paraphrase of the story of Romeo and Juliet was made from Boaistuau-Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, tom. 1, based on Bandello, II. 9. It is interesting to note that it is the earliest translation from Bandello in English. But Bandello was not the original author of the tale; he took it from a popular *novella*, *La Giulietta*, 1535, by Luigi da Porto, and there is still an earlier version, in Masuccio, *Il Novellino*, 1476, *Novella xxxiii*, the tragedy of *Mariotto and Giannoza*.

Broke states that he had seen "the same argument lately set foorth on the stage;" this first *Romeo and Juliet*, acted before 1562, must be therefore the first English tragedy on a subject taken directly or indirectly from an Italian novel.

Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet* is founded on Broke's paraphrase, although it is not improbable that he may have seen the lost early play. It was Broke's poem that mislead Shakspeare in omitting the pathetic incident of Juliet's coming out of her trance before the death of Romeo. This is the only circumstance that Luigi da Porto added to Masuccio's tale, and if Shakspeare had known of it his dramatic instinct must have seized upon it at once to heighten the tragical effect of the parting of the lovers. The Italian tragedy on the same subject, Luigi Groto's *Hadriana*, is dramatically true in following Da Porto's *novella*.

Besides Painter's translation of this tale, *The Palace of Pleasure*, II, 25 (1567), *The Tragicall historie of Romeus and Juliet* (Capell Coll.) appeared in 1587; the romance is referred to,—

1563. By George Turberville, in *Epitaphes*, etc., *An Epitaph on the death of Maister Arthur Brooke*.

1565. By Thomas de la Peend, in *The Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*.

[1574.] By Barnabe Rich, in *A right excelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier*: etc.

[1576.] By George Pettie, in *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*.

1578. By Thomas Procter and Owen Roydon, in *A gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inuentions*.

1579. *A Poor Knight: his Palace of Private Pleasure*.

1582. By George Whetstone, in *An Heptameron, The thyrd Daies Exercise*.

1583. By Richard Stanyhurst, in *The first foure Bookes of Virgils Aeneis, Translated into English Heroicall Verse. . . . With other Poeticall deuises thereto annexed; in particular, among the Poeticall deuises, in An Epitaph entituled Commune Defunctorum, such as our unlearned Riithmours accustomedly make upon the death of euerie Tom Tyler, as if it were a last for euerie one his foote*.

1583. By Bryan Melbancke, in *Philotimus*.

1584. By Clement Robinson, in *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*.

See *Quellen und Forschungen*. Heft 70. E. Koepfel. *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle*. (With some corrections.)

1562. *The most wonderfull and pleasant history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frenshyp, drawen into English metre. By Edward Lewicke*.

Anno 1562. Imprinted by Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop in Lumbarde Streete. 8vo. "Finis quod Edward Lewick."

The romance of *Titus and Gisippus* is found in the *Decameron*, x, 8. J. P. Collier has shown (*The Poetical Decameron*, vol. II, pp. 84 and 85) that Lewicke was indebted to *The Gouvernour* of Sir Thomas Elyot, not only for the form of his narrative, but "even for some of his very words and phrases." Chapter XII of the Seconde Boke of *The Boke named The Gouvernour* (H. H. S. Croft's edition, 1883) is entitled, "The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfet amitie."

It is uncertain whether Sir Thomas Elyot translated directly from Boccaccio, or, as is more likely, made use of a Latin version, by the celebrated Philip Beroaldo, whose editions of the classics were in great repute in the 16th century. Beroaldo's title reads, *Mithica historia Johannis Boccatii, poetae laureati, de Tito Romano Gisippoque Atheniensi, philosophiae tironibus ac commilitonibus, amicitiae vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum ex italico in latinum transversa.*

No date [conjectured, Leipsig, 1495?]. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*

There is also a metrical translation of *Titus and Gisippus* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gysippus translated out of latyn into englysche by Wylliam Walter.*

London, n. d. 4to. By me Wynkyn de Worde.

According to Brunet, the Latin text which Walter translated was written by Matteo Bandello, and published at Milan, in 1509. Warton gives, "An exceedingly scarce book, *Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. Mediolani, Apud Gotard de Ponte,*" 1509. 4to.

A play called *Titus and Gisippus* was acted at Court, Feb. 17, 1577; it may, however, have been Ralph Radcliffe's *Friendship of Titus and Gysippus, De Titi et Gisippi Amicitia*, revived from the time of King Edward VI., and now lost.

The first paper in Goldsmith's short-lived periodical, *The Bee*, is a prose version of *Titus and Gisippus*, although the romance is there said to be taken from a Byzantine historian, and the friends are called Alcander and Septimius.—Goldsmith's *Miscellanies, The Bee*, No. 1, Oct. 6, 1759.

1565. *The Historie of John Lorde Mandozze translated from the Spanish by Thomas de la Peend.*

London, by T. Colwell, 1565, 12mo., 64 leaves, with one missing from the middle and a considerable number from the end.

Dedicated, from the Middle Temple, to Sir Thomas Kemp, Knight, kinsman to the author.

This curious poem, of which only a fragment, about three-fourths of the whole, is preserved, is written in alternate lines of fourteen and sixteen syllables. It is founded on Bandello, II, 44, *Amore di Don Giouanni di Mendoza, e de la Duchessa di Sauoia, con varii e mirabili accidenti che v' intervengono*. Painter translated the novella as *The Duchesse of Sauoie, Palace of Pleasure*, I, 45. Jacobs agrees with Hazlewood that Peend must have had proof sheets of Painter, but Koepfel finds a common source in Belleforest, I, 6.

In brief, the Duchess of Savoy, falsely accused of unfaithfulness, is saved from death by the opportune arrival of a champion in Don John of Mendoza.

The romance is mentioned by George Pettie, in his *Petite Palace*, 1576; by Robert Greene, in *Mamillia*, 1583; and by Clement Robinson, in *A Handfull of Pleasant Delites*, 1584.

For an abstract of the poem, see Sir Egerton Brydges, *The British Bibliographer*, II, pp. 523-32 and 587-93.

[1565-6?] *The Historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura, daughter to the King of Scoottes, in English Verse by Peter Beuerley [of Staple Inn]*.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas East for Fraunces Col-docke, n. d. Sm. 8vo. 91 leaves. 1600. 12mo. (Warton, not now known.)

Entered on the *Stationers' Register A*, in 1565-6, under the almost unrecognizable title, *The tragigall and pleasaunte history Ariounder Jenevor, the Doughter unto the Kynge of [Skottes]*.

The history of *Ariodante and Ginevra* is founded on a tale in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Canto v. Bandello has a novella on the same theme, I, 22, and also Cintio, *Gli Ecatommiti, L'Introduzione, Novella Nona*. It was a very popular tale, and was used by Shakspeare, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, the story of Hero, Claudio, and Don John. Spenser also tells it, *The Faery Queene*, Bk. II, Canto IV, Stanza 17 seq.

Sir John Harington, in the *Morall* of the fifth book of his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, says, of the history of Ginevra,

"sure the tale is a pretie comicall matter, and hath bin written in English verse some few years past (learnedly and with good grace) though in verse of another kind, by M. George Turbervil." No trace of Turberville's version has yet been found.

The *Revels Accounts*, 1582, mention, "*A Historie of Ariodante and Geneuera* shewed before her Majestie on Shrove Tuesdaie at Night, enacted by Mr. Mulcaster's children."

Mr. Mulcaster's children were the boys of the Merchant Taylors' School. See *Orlando Furioso*, 1591.

1569. *A Notable Historye of Nastagio and Trauersari, no less pitieful than pleasaunt. Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by C. T. [Dr. Christopher Tye].*

*S'amor non puol a un cor ingrato & empio
Giovannelli timore, e crudel scempio.*

Imprinted at Londō in Paules Churchyarde by Thomas Parfoote dwelling at the signe of the Lucrece. Anno 1569. 8vo. Black letter. 16 leaves.

This is a versification of the *Decameron*, v, 8, the romance of the spectre huntsman.

Nastagio and Trauersari was also versified by George Turberville, in his *Tragical Tales*, 1587 (which see, the first tale). A third metrical version was made by Dryden in his *Fables*, 1700, under the title, *Theodore and Honoria*.

Byron alludes to Dryden's poem in *Don Juan*:—

"Sweet hour of twilight ! in the solitude
Of the pine forest, and the silent shore
Which bounds Ravenna's immemorial wood,
Rooted where once the Adrian wave flow'd o'er,
To where the last Caesarean fortress stood,
Ever-green forest ! which Boccaccio's lore
And Dryden's lay made haunted ground to me,
How have I loved the twilight hour and thee !"

"The shrill cicalas, people of the pine,
 Making their summer lives one ceaseless song,
 Were the sole echoes, save my steed's and mine,
 And vesper-bells that rose the boughs along ;
 The spectre huntsman of Onesti's line,
 His hell-dogs, and their chase, and the fair throng,
 Which learn'd from this example not to fly
 From a true lover, shadow'd my mind's eye."

Don Juan, Canto III, Stanzas CV, CVI.

Christopher Tye was a doctor of music at Cambridge, in 1545, and musical instructor to Prince Edward and probably to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Under Queen Elizabeth, he became organist to the Chapel Royal, where, in connection with Thomas Tallis, he composed many services which are models of sacred choral melody. Sir John Hawkins says he was the inventor of the anthem.

"The Acts of the Apostles set to music by Dr. Tye were sung in the Chapel of Edward VI., and probably in other places where choral service was performed ; but the success of them not answering the expectation of their author, he applied himself to another kind of study, the composing of music to words selected from the Psalms of David, in four, five, and more parts, to which species of harmony, for want of a better, the name of Anthem, a corruption of Antiphon, was given."

Sir John Hawkins. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. Ed. Novello, 1853, p. 455.

Christopher Tye is a character in Samuel Rowley's play, *When You See Me, You know Me, or The Famous Chronicle History of Henry 8.* (1605. 4to.). A dialogue of this drama, between Prince Edward and his music master, gives us King Henry VIII's opinion of Dr. Tye in language of strong Tudor flavor.

Prince Edward.—I oft have heard my father merrily speake
 In your high praise ; and thus his highnesse saith,

England one God, one truth, one doctor hath
 For musickes arte, and that is Doctor Tye.
 See *The Forrest of Fancy*, 1579.

[1570?] *A Discourse of the great crueltie of a widow towards a young gentleman, and by what means he requited the same. Set forth in English verse by Jo: Go[ubourne?]*

Imprinted at London by Henry Binneman. [Colophon.]
 Imprinted at London, by Henry Binneman, dwelling in
 Knightrider Strete, at the Signe of the Mermaid. [1570?]
 8vo. *Bagford Papers*.

This romance is taken from Bandello, III, 17, *Il S. Filiberto s'innamora di M. Zilia, che per un bacio lo fa stare lungo tempo mutolo, e la uendetta che egli altamente ne prese*. It was a popular tale, and is found in Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, II, 27, *The Lord of Virle*; in Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, 1567, No. 11, *The Crueltie of a Wydowe*; and in *Westward for Smelts*, 1620, No. 6, *The Fishwife of Hampton*. Pettie, *Petite Pallace*, 1576, mentions Zilia and the Knight Virle.

Two Elizabethan plays are founded on the tale, *The Dumb Knight*. 1608. 4to. Gervase Markham and Lewis Machin, and *The Queen, or the Excellency of her Sex*. 1653. Anonymous.

[1570?] *A pleasant and delightfull History of Galesus, Cymon, and Iphigenia, describing the Fickleness of Fortune in loue. Translated out of Italian into English verse by T. C. Gent.*

*Di rozzo inerto, e vil, fa spesso amore
 Generoso, et cortese, un nobil cor.*

[London.] Printed by Nicolas Wyer, dwelling at the signe of S. John Euangelist in S. Martins parish beside Charing-crosse, n. d. [c. 1570.] 8vo. Black letter. 26 leaves.

A versifying of *Il Decamerone*, v, 1, *Cimone, amando, divien savio*, etc. The idea embodied in the character of Cimone, the

civilizing influence of love, had already been twice worked out by Boccaccio, first in his prose romance, *Ameto*, and again in the pastoral, *Ninfale Fiesolano*. Dryden translated the romance of *Cymon and Iphigenia* in his *Fables*, 1700.

Warton conjectures T. C. to be either Thomas Campion, or Thomas Churchyard.

1570. *The Pityfull Historie of two louing Italians, Gaulfrido and Barnardo le wayne: which ariued in the countrey of Grece, in the time of the noble Emperoure Vaspasian. And translated out of Italian into Englishe meeter by Iohn Drouit, of Thauis Inne Gentleman. Anno 1570.*

Imprinted at London by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Knightrider streete, at the signe of the Mermayde. 8vo. Black letter. 32 leaves.

Twenty-five copies reprinted, in black letter, for Mr. J. P. Collier, by F. Shoberl, jun. 1844. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*

Dedicated to Sir Francis Jobson, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower.

In verse, the fourteen-syllabled metre of the time, divided into lines of eight and six syllables. 'The pityfull historie' is pitiful indeed, for no person concerned in it escapes death. Part of the history relates to that of *Romeo and Juliet*.

'*Galfrido and Bernardo*' is an entry in *Henslowe's Diary* under date, May 18, 1595. Fleay asserts that the entry is a forgery. *Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 301.

1576. *A Most lamentable and Tragicall Historie, Conteyning the outrageous and horrible tyrannie which a Spanishe gentlewoman named Violenta executed upon her Louer Didaco, because he espoused another beyng first betrothed unto her. Newly translated into English Meter, by T. A. [Thomas Achelley]. 1576.*

Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Thomas Butter dwelling in Paules Churchyarde neere to S. Austines gate at the Shippe. 1576. 8vo. 39 leaves. *Bodleian*.

Dedicated, in prose, "to the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight."

Violenta and Didaco is a metrical translation of Bandello. Pt. I, Nov. 42.

1576. *Tragicall Tales*, translated by Turbervile in time of his troubles, out of sundry Italians; with the argument and *L'Enuoie to ech Tale*. *Nocet empta dolore voluptas*.

Imprinted at London by Abell Jeffs, dwelling in the Fore-street without Crepelgate at the signe of the Bel. Anno Dom. 1576, 1587. 4to. (Collier.) Sm. 8vo. (Allibone and Hazlitt.) 12mo. (Warton and *Censura Litteraria*, 3, p. 175.) Black letter. 200 leaves. Edinburgh, 1837. 4to. 50 copies. Bodleian. Edinburgh University Library.

Dedicated "to the right worshipful, his loving brother, Nicholas Turbervile, Esq."

This is a collection of ten novels, translated, in verse, by George Turberville. They are all from Boccaccio and Bandello, except the second one, whose source has not yet been discovered. It will be noticed below that six of the seven tales taken from Boccaccio belong to the fourth day, "*Nella quale, sotto il reggimento di Filostrato, si ragiona di coloro, li cui amori ebbero infelice fine.*"

No. 1. Boccaccio, v, 8. *Nastagio degli Onesti amando una dei Traversari, spende le sue ricchezze senza essere amato*. Etc.

This tale had already been versified by Dr. Christopher Tye. See *A Notable Historye of Nastagio and Trauersari*, 1569; also, *The Forrest of Fancy*, 1579.

No. 2. ?

No. 3. Boccaccio, x, 4. *Messer Gentil de' Carisendi venuto da Modena, trae della sepoltura una donna amata da lui, sepolta per morta*: etc. See *Philocopo*, [1566?].

No. 4. Boccaccio, iv, 9. *Messer Guiglielmo Rossiglione dà a mangiare alla moglie sua il cuore di messer Guiglielmo Guardastagno ucciso da lui et amato da lei*: etc.

This terrible fate is said actually to have befallen the troubadour Guillem de Cabestaing, or Cabestan. "Sa derniere mattresse, selon Jehan de Nostre-Dame, fut Tricline Carbon-

nel, femme du seigneur de Seillan, qui jaloux du troubadour, dout il avait fait son écuyer, le tua, lui arracha le coeur et le fit manger à sa femme. Tricline dit à son époux, 'que, puisqu'elle avait mangé si noble viande, elle n'en mangerait jamais d'autres;' et elle se laissa mourir de faim en 1213.

"Suivant Millot, le mari furieux contre Cabestaing se nommait Raymond de Castel-Roussillon, et son épouse Marguerite. D'après un manuscrit italien, on rapporte que les parents de celle-ci et du troubadour, ainsi qu'un grand nombre de chevaliers, à la tête desquels se mit Alphonse, roi d'Aragon, démolirent le château de Raymond, firent de pompeuses funérailles aux deux amants et les inhumèrent dans le même tombeau, qui fut placé dans une église de Perpignan. Les chevaliers du Roussillon et du Narbonnais assistaient chaque année à un service solennel fondé par le roi d'Aragon pour le repos de l'âme de Marguerite et de Cabestaing."

Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*.

No. 5. Bandello, III, 18. *Rosimonda fa ammazzare il marito, e poi se stessa ed il secondo marito avvelena, accecata da disordinato appetito.*

The story of Rosimund furnished plots for two Elizabethan plays,—

1. *Albovine, King of the Lombards*. 1629. 4to. Sir William Davenant.

2. *The Witch*. Printed 1788. 8vo. Middleton.

Painter's *Wife Punished*, *The Palace of Pleasure*, I, 57, is a prose translation of the romance.

No. 6. Boccaccio, IV, 4. *Gerbino contra la fede data dal re Guiglielmo suo avolo combatte una nave del re di Tunisi, per torre una sua figliuola*, etc.

No. 7. Boccaccio, IV, 5. *I fratelli dell' Isabetta uccidono l'amante di lei: egli l'apparisce in sogno e mostrale dove sia sotterato. Ella occultamente disotterra la testa e mettele in un testo di basilico*: etc.

Isabella's story appealed to Keats in his unequal but beautiful and pathetic poem, *Isabella, or the Pot of Basil*, 1820; and

this poem inspired Holman Hunt to paint "Isabella and the Pot of Basil," 1868. One of the early paintings of John Everett Millais has the same subject; it is called, "Isabella," or sometimes "Lorenzo and Isabella," and is in the Liverpool Gallery, dated 1849. Two of the men figures are portraits of Dante and William Rossetti.

No. 8. Bandello, III, 5. *Bellissima vendetta fatta da gli Eliensi contra Aristotimo crudelissimo tiranno, e la morte di quello con altri accidenti.*

No. 9. Boccaccio, IV, 7. *La Simona ama Pasquino: sono insieme in uno orto: Pasquino si frega ai denti una foglia di salvia e muorsi: etc.*

No. 10. Boccaccio, IV, 8. *Girolamo ama la Salvestra: va costretto da' prieghi della madre a Parigi: torna, e truovala maritata: etc.*

For the sources of these tales, except the first, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh, I am indebted to E. Koepfel: *Die englischen Tasso-übersetzungen des 16 jahrhunderts.*

Anglia. Band XIII. Neue Folge Band I, 1891.

1609. *The Italian Taylor, and his Boy. By Robert Armin, Seruant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.*

At London printed for T. P. 1609. 4to. Wood cuts. *Huth.* [1810.] 4to. *British Museum.* Reprinted in *Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books*, Vol. XIV. Alexander B. Grosart. 1880. Sm. 4to. *Peabody.*

Dedicated to Viscount Haddington and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Fitz-water.

From Straparola's *Tredici Notte Piacevole*, VIII, 5.

In *Register C* the license to Master Pavyer, Feb. 6, 1609, reads "*Phastasma. The Italian Tayler and his boy made by master Armin.*"

Armin's poem is divided into nine cantos, each accompanied by an argument, and written in alternate rime.

The prefatory Address *Ad Lectorem hic et ubique* contains an interesting reference to the criticism of the time; speaking of his pen, the poet says,—

“I wander with it now in a strange time of taxation, wherein every pen and inck-horne Boy will throw up his cap at the hornes of the Moone in censure, although his wit hang there, not returning unless monthly in the wane: such is our ticklish age, and the itching braine of abundance.”

1639. *A small Treatise betwixt Arnalte and Lucenda, entitled, The evill-intreated lover, or The melancholy knight. Originally written in the Greeke tongue by an unknown author; afterwards translated into Spanish [or rather written by D. Hernandez de San Pedro]; after that for the excellency thereof into the French tongue by N. H.; next by B. M. [araffi] into the Thuscan, and now turn'd into English verse by L. [eonard] L. [awrence], a well-wisher to the Muses. [Motto from Ovid, De Tristibus.]*

London. Printed by J. Okes for H. Mosley, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Signe of the Princes Armes in Pauls Church-yard. 1639. 4to. 64 leaves. *British Museum. Bodleian, (2 copies.) Britwell. Huth. Bridgewater House.*

Lawrence dedicates his translation, in prose, “To his more than Honour’d Unckle Adam Lawrence,” and, in verse, “To the Noble-minded Reader,” and “To all Faire Ladies, Famous for their Vertues . . . but most especially to that Paragon of Perfection, the very Non-Such of her Sexe, famous by the name of Mistris M. S.” He does not mention, in his detailed account of the migrations of the romance, the fact that it had already found its way into English and was a popular tale. Claudius Holyband’s earlier prose translation, entitled *The pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalte and Lucenda*, came to four editions between 1575 and 1608.

The French translator, N. H., is Nicolas de Herberay, Seigneur des Essarts, whose title runs,—

Petit Traité de A. et Lucenda, [by D. Hernandez de San Pedro,] *autresfois traduit de langue Espaignole en la Francoyse & intitulé L'Amât mal traité de s'amyé: par le Seigneur des Essars N. de Herberay*. Paris. 1548. 16mo. *British Museum*. A French translation, with Bartolommeo Maraffi's Italian version, is dated 1570,—

Petit traité de A. et Lucenda [by D. Hernandez de San Pedro]. *Picciol trattato d'A. & di Lucenda, intitolato d'Amante mal trattato dalla sua amorosa, nuovamente per B. Maraffi . . . in lingua Thoscana tradotto*. French and Italian. Lyon. 1570. 16mo. *British Museum*.

Arnalte and Lucenda is a tale of an over-confident lover and a false friend. The poet supposes himself lost in a desert, where after much wandering he comes upon a stately but dismal mansion. Arnalte, the melancholy owner, receives his guest courteously and entertains him with the story of his life. He was a native of Thebes, who, at the funeral of an eminent man of that city, had fallen in love with the grief-stricken daughter, Lucenda. The lady is described as a paragon of beauty, but unmoved by the addresses of her lover. Arnalte, however, hopes of success, until he is suddenly overwhelmed by hearing of her marriage to his friend, Yerso, the confidant of his love. He immediately challenges Yerso to single combat before the king, and kills him. Lucenda, heart-broken, retires to a convent, and Arnalte to the desert.

For a brief account of Lawrence's poem, see the *Retrospective Review*, 1821, Vol. iv, pp. 72-76.

1640. *The Pleasant and sweet History of patient Grissell shewing how she from a poore man's Daughter came to be a great Lady in France, being a pattern for all vertuous Women. Translated out of Italian.*

London. Printed by E. P. for John Wright, dwelling in Giltspurstreet at the signe of the bible. 1640. 8vo. Black letter. 12 leaves. Also, [1630?] 8vo. *British Museum*. 1842. J. P. Collier, for the Percy Society.

A chapbook, in eleven chapters, the first two and the last ~~two~~ in prose, the rest with some verbal and literal changes ~~the same~~ as a broadside called, *A most pleasant Ballad of patient Grisell*. To the tune of *The Brides Good-morrow*. (Reprinted in *Anc. Ballads*, 1867.)

The tale of *Patient Grisell* is in the *Decameron*, the last tale of the last day, x. 10. It was the most popular tale of Boccaccio's in mediaeval literature. According to Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes*, upwards of twenty translations of it are to be found in the French prose of the 14th century, in such collections as the *Miroir des Dames*, or the *Exemples des bonnes et mauvaises Femmes*, and a secular mystery in French verse, unique of its kind, *Le Mystère de Griseldis*, was represented in Paris, in 1395.

Petrarch was so pleased with the story that he learnt it by heart to repeat to his friends and then put it into Latin prose, as *De obedientia et fide uxoris Mythologia*, 1373. During this year Chaucer was in Italy, on his Italian embassy, and probably met Petrarch at Padua. Very likely Petrarch repeated the tale to him there, and gave him a copy of the Latin version, which he translated as *The Clerk's Tale* (*Canterbury Tales*).

Since Petrarch's time, in Italy, the tale of *Patient Grisell* has enjoyed enduring popularity. One of Goldoni's comedies, *La Griselda*, is founded on the subject, and the homely old drama is still acted in marionette theatres; cheap pictures representing its different scenes often decorate the cottage-walls of Italian peasants, while a painting attributed to Pinturicchio in the National Gallery, London, presents several of the most dramatic episodes.

Following Chaucer, in English, Ralph Radcliffe, of the time of Edward VI., wrote a Latin comedy on the subject, *De patientia Griseldis*; then come half a dozen ballads recorded in the *Stationers' Registers* and elsewhere, *The History of meke and pacyent Gresell*, licensed 1565, and another comedy, *Patient Grisell*, printed in 1603, and written by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton. The quarto tract,

in prose, of 1607, 1619, and 1674, is said to have been 'written first in French.' Pepys refers to the 'puppet-play' of *Patient Grissel* in his *Diary*, Aug. 30, 1667, and Butler, in *Hudibras*, couples Grissel with Job (pt. 1, c. 2, 772). (See Skeat, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Vol. III, Group E, pp. 453-7.)

Whether Boccaccio invented the story or not, is uncertain, but it has been said that he ought to be forgiven all the naughtiness of all the *Decameron* for having given to international literature this pure and beautiful tale. The first English comedy is now lost, and the second one does not amount to much dramatically, but it contains one of the most exquisite Elizabethan lyrics, Dekker's

Sweet Content.

Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?

O sweet content!

Art thou rich, yet is thy mind perplexèd?

O punishment!

Dost thou laugh to see how fools are vexèd

To add to golden numbers, golden numbers?

O sweet content! O sweet, O sweet content!

Work apace, apace, apace, apace;

Honest labor bears a lovely face;

Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny, nonny!

Canst thou drink the waters of the crisped spring?

O sweet content!

Swimm'st thou in wealth, yet sink'st in thine own tears?

O punishment!

Then he that patiently want's burden bears

No burden bears, but is a king, a king!

O sweet content! O sweet, O sweet content!

Work apace, apace, apace, apace;

Honest labor bears a lovely face;

Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!

d. ITALIAN AND LATIN POETRY.

1573. *B. Mantuani . . . adolescentia, seu bucolica, brevibus Jodoci Badii commentariis illustrata. His accesserunt Joannis Murmelii in singulas eclogas argumenta, cum annotatiunculis ejusdem in loca aliquot obscuriora. Accessit & index . . . novus . . . opera B. Laurentis.*

Apud T. Marsh, Londini, 1573. 8vo. British Museum.
Also, *Londini, 1627. 8vo. British Museum.*

See *The Eglogs of . . . B. Mantuan, 1567. George Turberville.*

1574. *M. Palingenii [Pietro Angelo Manzolli] . . . Zodiacus vitæ. Hoc est de hominis vita, studio ac moribus optime instituendis Libri XII. Few MS. Notes.*

T. Marsh, Londini, 1574. 16mo. Also, Londini, 1575, 8vo., 1579, 16mo., 1592, 8vo., and 1639, 8vo., all five editions in the British Museum.

See *The first thre Bokes of the most christiã Poet Marcellus Palingenius, 1560. Barnaby Googe.*

1581. *Paraphrasis aliquot [i. e. 22] Psalmorum Davidis, Carmine heroico. S. Gentili . . . Auctore. (Alcon, seu de Natali Jesu Christi, Ecloga, etc.)*

T. Vautrollerius, Londini, 1581. 4to. British Museum.

1584. *S. Gentilis in XXV. Davidis Psalmos epicæ paraphrases.*

Apud J. Wolfium, Londini, 1584. 4to. British Museum.

1584. *Torquato Tasso Solymeidos, Liber primus, Latinis numeris expressus à Scipio Gentili.*

Londini, excudebat Johannes Wolfius. 1584. 4to. Brit. Mus.

S. Gentilis Solymeidos libri duo priores de T. Tassi Italicis expressi. 1584. 4to. British Museum. 1585. 4to. British Museum.

Tasso's Jerusalem. Translated into Latin verse. 1785. 4to.

1585. *J. C. Stellae Nob. Rom. Columbeidos, Libri Priores duo.* [Edited by Giacompo Castelvetri.]

Apud J. Wolfium, Londini, 1585. 4to. *British Museum.*

A poem on the discovery of the new world, composed at the age of twenty, by Giulio Cesare Stella. It won a great reputation for the author in Italy, but it is said to be a mediocre performance, and the author wrote nothing of note afterwards.

1591. *Il Pastor Fido: tragicomedia pastorale [in five acts and in verse]. (Aminta, favola boschereccia del S. Torquato Tasso.)*

Per Giovanni Volfeo, a spese di Giacompo Castelvetri. Londra.

1591. 12mo. *British Museum.*

This is the fourth edition of Guarini's famous pastoral, together with the *Aminta* of Tasso, edited in Italian, for English readers. It appeared eleven years before the first English translation.

See *Il Pastor Fido*, 1602, by — Dymock, and 1647–8, by Sir Richard Fanshawe.

1595. *Alto. Di Tomaso Morlei Il primo libro delle Ballate A Cinque voci.*

In Londra. Appresso Tomaso Este. CIO. IO. XC. V. [1595.] 4to. 15 leaves. *Brit. Mus.*

I take this to be an Italian version of Morley's, *The First Booke of Balletts to five voyces.* (London, 1595. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*) For a short account of Thomas Morley, see his *Canzonets*, 1597.

1596. *Rime. Londra.* 1596. 4to.

Lodovico Petrucci, or Petruccio Ubaldini, the author of these verses was an Italian Protestant refugee in London, who supported himself by teaching Italian and illuminating books. He

was of the noble Tuscan family of Ubaldini, although for some reason he does not seem to have been known in England by that name. Petrucci was first patronized by Henry, Earl of Arundel and afterwards by King Edward VI., who took him into his service. Whatever his connection with the Court was, it seems to have been continued under Elizabeth, for the Huth Library contains a *Liber precum* illuminated by him and bearing the royal monogram, E. R., surmounted by a crown. It is supposed to have belonged to the Queen and to have been presented to her by the author.

1613. *Raccolta d'alcune Rime del Cavaliere Lodovico Petrucci Nobile Toscano in piu luoghi, e tempi composte et e diversi Prencipi dedicate; con la Selua delle suo Persecutioni.*

Farrago Poematum Equitis Lodouici Petrucci, Nobilis Tuscani diversis locis et temporibus conscriptorum et ad diversos principes dedicatarum una cum sylva suarum persecutionum.

Ozoniae. 1613. Sm. 4to. *British Museum.*

This is a volume of Italian poems, with a Latin version of each, by Petrucci. It was published after his death, and contains verses addressed to Queen Elizabeth, King James I., and other notable personages. One poem is an elegy in memory of Sir Thomas Bodley.

1619. *La Caccia . . . poema heroico, nel qual si tratta pienamente della natura, e de gli affetti d'ogni sorte di Fiere, co'l modo di cacciarle, & prenderle.*

Appresso Gio. Billio, Londra, 1619. 8vo. British Museum.
A poem by Alessandro Gatti.

1637. *R. P. E. Thesauri [Count Emmanuele Tesaurio] . . . Caesares; et ejusdem varia carmina: quibus accesserunt. . . Nobilissimorum Orientis & Occidentis Pontificum elogia & varia opera Poetica. Editio secunda emendatior, cum auctariolo.*

L. Lichfield, Impensis Gulielmi Webb, Ozonii, 1637. 8vo. British Museum.

1645. *Poems by Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several Times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the King's Chappell, London.*

Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Mosely, etc. London. 1645. Sm. 8vo. 2 pts. *British Museum.*

The first collective edition of Milton and the first work bearing his name. It contains an oval portrait of the poet at the age of twenty-one, by W. Marshall, with a Greek inscription satirizing the engraver for representing a man of middle age.

1673. *Poems, &c., upon several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton; both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several Times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib.*

London. Printed for Thomas Dring, at the White Lion. . . . Fleet Street. 1673. Sm.-8vo. Pp. 292. With portrait by W. Dolle, and considerable additions, both to the English and the Latin poems. *British Museum.*

Accompanying the English Poems, Part I, in these two editions prepared for the press by Milton himself, are five Italian sonnets, numbered III., IV., V., VI., and VII., and a *canzone*.

They relate the story of the poet's love for an Italian lady, whom he describes as beautiful, dark-haired, appreciative of poetry, and a sweet singer. Sonnet III. reveals her birth-place as the Vale of the Reno, between Bologna and Ferrara. Warton conjectures that she was the celebrated singer Leonora Bonari, whom Milton heard at Cardinal Barberini's musicales in Rome, and to whom he addressed three pieces of complimentary Latin verse. But there is no real ground for this fancy, nor indeed anything to indicate definitely that Milton met the lady in Italy. He may have met her in London society, and the poems may have been written before he travelled in Italy. By common consent, however, they are referred to the time of the Italian journey, 1638-9.

In three of the sonnets the lady is addressed directly,—

Sonnet III.

*Donna leggiadra, il cui bel nome onora
L'erbosea val di Reno e il nobel varco.*

Sonnet VI.

*Per certo, i bei vostri occhi, Donna mia,
Esser non può che non sian lo mio sole;*

Sonnet VII.

*Giovane, piano, e semplicetto amante,
Poichè fuggir me stesso in dubbio sono,
Madonna, a voi del mio cuor l'unal dono
Farò divoto.*

In Sonnet v., Milton takes into his confidence his Italian friend, Charles Diodati,

Diodati (e te'l dirò con meraviglia)

In Sonnet iv.,

Qual in colle aspro, all'imbrunir di sera,

and in the *canzone*, the English poet excuses himself for writing in Italian, on the ground that the lady had "praised her native tongue as that in which Love delighted."

Canzone.

*Ridonsi donne e giovani amorosi
M'accostandosi attorno, e "Perchè scrivi,
Perchè tu scrivi in lingua ignota e strana
Verseggiando d'amor, e come l'osi?
Dinne, se la tua speme sia mai vana,*

E de' pensieri lo miglior t'arrivi!"
Costi mi van burlando: "altri rivi,
Altri lidi t'aspettan, ed altre onde,
Nelle cui verdi sponde
Spuntati ad or ad or alla tua chioma
L'immortal guiderdon d'etern frondi,
Perchè alle spalle tue soverchia soma?"
Canzon, dirotti, e tu per me rispondi:
"Dice mia Donna, e'l suo dir è il mio cuore,
Questa è lingua di cui si vanta Amore."

1658. *La Fida Pastora, Comoedia Pastoralis. Autore F. F. Anglo-Britanno. Adduntur nonnulla varii argumenti Carmina ab eodem. Dux vitae Ratio.*

Londini, Typis R. Danielis, Impensis G. Bedell & T. Collins, &c. 1658. Sm. 8vo. Brit. Mus.

The *Carmina Varii Argumenti* at the end occupy only 9 leaves, including a separate title.

The translator, F. F. Anglo-Britannus, is supposed to be Sir Richard Fanshawe. The pastoral is John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* done into Latin verse.

e. CORRIGENDA TO FIRST PAPER (ON ROMANCES
IN PROSE).

[c. 1550.] [Colophon.] *Thus endeth the hystorye of the two valyaunte brethren Valentyne & Orson, sônes un to the Emperour of Grece.*

Imprinted at London ouer agaynst S. Margaretes Church in Lothbery be William Coplande. [circa 1550.] 4to. Black letter. Woodcuts. *Mr. Corser.* Also, n. d., 4to., "be me Wyl-liam Copland, for John Walley."

Valentine and Orson. The Two Sonnes of the Emperour of Greece. Newly Corrected and amended, with new Pictures lively expressing the Historie.

Printed at London by Thomas Purfoot. An. Dom. 1637, 4to., black letter, with a large cut of the two heroes on the title-page and other cuts in the volume. *British Museum*. Also, 1649. 4to. Black letter. *Huth*: 1677. 4to. 1682. 4to. Black letter. With cuts. *Huth*: 1688. 4to. Black letter. 112 leaves. 1694. 4to. *Bodleian*: 1696. 4to. Black letter: n. d., 4to., by A. [lexander] M. [ilbourn] for E. Tracy: [c. 1690.] ([London. 1700(?)] *Brit. Mus.*) 4to. Roman letter: n. d. 4to. 12 leaves—an abridged chapbook. Numerous other chapbooks.

The printer's preface of the edition of 1649, addressed "To the Reader," says, "The History here written, was translated out of French into English above 100 years ago, by one Henry Watson, and since that time it hath by him been Corrected, and put into a more plysant stile, and so followed on to the Presse till this present Edition."

An entry in *Stationers' Register B* shows that this was a very old romance,—“8 Augusti [1586] Thomas Purfoote. Receaved of him for printinge the olde Booke of *Valentine and Orson* vi^d. Alwaies provided that ye cumpanie shall haue them at his handes.”

The ballad of *Valentine and Orson*, entitled *The Emperour & the Childe*, and of comparatively late origin, is said, by Bishop Percy (who rewrote it in four-lined stanzas), to be founded on “a translation from the French, being one of their earliest attempts at romance.” The earliest French title I have met with is, *Histoire des deux nobles et vaillans chevaliers Valentin et Orson, fils de l'Empereur de Grèce, et neveux du très-chrétien Roi de France Pépin, contenant 74 chapitres lesquels parlent de plusieurs et diverse matieres très-plaisantes et récréatives*.

Lyons, 1495, in-folio, et 1590, in-octavo, et depuis à *Troyes*, chez *Oudot*, in-quarto.

An Italian title in the *Huth Library* is of a later date,—

Historia dei due nobilissimi et valerosi fratelli Valentino et Orsone; Figliuoli del Magno Imperatore di Constantinopoli &

nepoti del Re Pipino. . . . In Venetia, appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, & Balteasar Costantini. 1558. Sm. 8vo. Also British Museum.

An interlude called *Valentine and Orson* is twice entered on the Stationers' books; in *Register B*, May 23, 1595, and in *Register C*, March 31, 1600. A play on the same theme, written by Anthony Munday and Richard Hathway, was acted by the Admiral's men, at the Rose, July 19, 1598. It was probably founded on the interlude. Douce refers the familiar lines of Hamlet's soliloquy,—

“The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
No traveller returns,”—(*Hamlet*, iii. 1)

to an expression in *Valentine and Orson*.—

“I shall send some of you here present *into such a country, that you shall scarcely ever return again* to bring tydings of your valour.” Douce, *Illustrations of Shakspeare*. Ed. 1839, p. 462. The thought, however, is common property, occurring in the Book of Job, in Catullus, and elsewhere. See I. *Romances. Palmerin d'Oliva*, 1588.

The many different forms in which the tale of *Valentine and Orson* turns up attest its abiding popularity. It is a tale of lost children found to princely rank and fortune, an extremely common motive in the old romances.

[1566?] *A Pleasant disport of diuers Noble Personages: Written in Italian by M. John Bocace Florentine and Poet Laureate: in his Boke which is entituled Philocopo. And nowe Englished by H. G.*

Imprinted at London, in Pater Noster Rowe, at the signe of the Marmayd, [by H. Bynneman for Richard Smith and Nicholas England. Anno Domini. 1566?] 4to. 58 leaves. Black letter. *British Museum* (title-page mutilated).

Dedicated to the “right worshipfull M. William Rice Esquire.”

Thirteene most pleasaunt and delectable questions, entituled A disport of diuers noble personages written in Italian by M. John Bocace, Florentine and Poet Laureate, in his Booke named Philocopo. Englished by H. G.

These bookes are to be solde at the Corner shoppe, at the North-weast dore of Paules. [Colophon.] Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman for Rycharde Smyth. Anno. 1571. 8vo. Black letter. 88 leaves. *Bodleian*. Also, 1587. 8vo. 88 leaves. *Capell Coll. British Museum*.

The *Hulh Library Catalogue* states that there were four editions of *Philocopo* between 1567 (1566 ?) and 1587.

H. G. is commonly supposed to be Humphrey Gifford, author of *A Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1580, but it has been suggested that the initials may stand for Henry Grantham, translator of Scipio Lentulo's *Italian Grammar*, 1575.

Philocopo (*Filocolo*) is a remodelling, in prose, of the old chivalric metrical romance, *Floire et Blancheflore*, a favorite with the minstrels of France, Italy, and Germany.

Boccaccio says that he was incited to write the book by Maria d'Aquino, "Fiammetta," a supposed natural daughter of King Robert of Naples. She is the queen of the Court of Love, 4th Book, which is held in a garden near Naples upon the road leading to the tomb of Vergil.

Two of the 'questions' of the fourth book of *Philocopo* were retold by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*; *Questione XIII*, discusses the generosity of *Messer Gentil de' Carisendi*, x, 4, and *Questione IV*. is the romance of *Dianora and Ansaldo*, or the *Enchanted Garden*, x, 5. Chaucer made use of the story of *Dianora and Ansaldo*, with a variation, in the *Franklin's Tale* (*Canterbury Tales*). It also furnished the theme of Beaumont and Fletcher's moral representation, *The Triumph of Honor*, or *Diana* (*Four Plays in One*, 1647, folio), which Fleay judges to be the work of Beaumont only.

In the only edition of *Filocolo* I have ever seen, *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1829, I find the 'Questions' in the fourth book, although the *British Museum*

Catalogue and Koepfel, *Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle*, both refer them to the fifth book.

See, for *Questione XIII.*, Turberville's *Tragicall Tales*, 1576; for *Questione IV.*, *Philotimus*, 1583, and *Orlando innamorato*, 1598.

1568. *A briefe and pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage, called the Flower of Friendshippe.*

Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Pater noster Rowe at the Signe of the Starre. Anno 1568. 8vo. 40 leaves. Two editions. Also, 1571. 8vo. B. L. *Bodleian*. 1577. 16mo. *Bodleian*.

The dedication to Queen Elizabeth is signed, "Your Maisities most humble Subject, Edmonde Tilnay." Edmund Tilnay was Master of the Revels from 1579 to his death in 1610; John Lyly was his rival and waited in vain for the succession.

This book is a discussion of marriage after the manner of the Italian Platonists. A house party is assembled at Lady Julia's and some of the gentlemen propose outdoor sports: "But M. [aster] Pedro nothing at all lyking of such deuises, wherein the Ladies should be left out, said that he well remembered how Boccace and Countie Baltisar with others recounted many proper deuises for exercise, both pleasant, and profitable, which, quoth he, were used in the courts of Italie, and some much like to them are practised at this day in the English court, wherein is not only delectable, [sic] but pleasure ioyned wyth profite, and exercyse of the witte."

Pedro's proposal of the 'question' prevails, and the company meet every day in the garden, where, under the rule of a queen, they discuss marriage. On the first day, Pedro defends marriage against "a mery gentleman, called Maister Gualter of Cawne," relating a tale of a faithful husband, entitled, *De Conjugali Charitate: De Neapolitani regni quodam accola*, Lib. IV., Cap. VI., from Baptista Campofulgus (Fregoso), *Exemplorum, Hoc est, Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium, ex certae fidei ueteribus et recentioribus historiarum probatis Autoribus*, Lib. IX.

The subject of the second day's discussion is "The office, or duetie of the married woman," and Pedro tells a story of a wife's prudence in reclaiming her husband from evil courses, which is found in Queen Margaret's *Heptameron*, Novella 48, *Memorable charité d'une femme de Tours, envers son mary putier*. It is one of the novels of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 64.

The allusion to Boccaccio doubtless refers to *Filocolo* which had just been translated, 1566 (?). *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio* (*Castiglione*) was translated in 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby, and was by far the most popular Elizabethan translation from the Italian, judging by the number of editions it went through.

1573. *The Garden of Pleasure: Contayninge most pleasante Tales, worthy deeds and witty sayings of noble Princes & learned Philosophers, moralized. No lesse delectable, than profitable. Done out of Italian into English, by Iames Sanforde, Gent. Wherein are also set forth diuers Verses and Sentences in Italian, with the Englishe to the same, for the benefit of students in both tonges.*

Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman. Anno 1573. 8vo. 116 leaves. Black letter. Capell Coll. (imperfect). *British Museum*.

Dedicated to "Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leycester."

Hours of Recreation or Afterdinneres, which may aptly be called the Garden of Pleasure: Containing most pleasant Tales, worthy deeds & witty sayings of noble Princes & learned Philosophers, with their Morals, &c. Done first out of Italian into Englishe, by J. S. Gent., and now by him newly perused, corrected, and enlarged.

Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, &c. 1576. 16mo. 128 leaves. Black letter. *British Museum*.

At the end of *Howres of recreation* are "Certayne Poems dedicated to the Queenes moste excellent Maiestie, by James Sanforde Gent."

1578. *Tarletons Tragical Treatises, contaynyng sundrie discourses and pretty Conceytes, both in Prose and Verse.*

Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman. An. 1578. 4to. Black letter.

"To the right honourable and vertous Lady, the Lady Fraunces Mildmay, Richard Tarleton wisheth long life, and prosperous health, with happy encrease of Honor," signed, "Your honors most humble at commandment, Richard Tarleton, Seruaunt to the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaene Earle of Sussex."

The only known copy of this work was found at Lamport Hall, by Mr. C. Edmonds, who says:—"In the Dedication the author expresses his fear of getting 'the name and note of a Thrasonical Clawback,' which curious expression is used by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour Lost* [v. 1, printed 1598]. Farmer (says Mr. C. Knight) asserts that the word (thrasonical) was introduced in our language before Shakespeare's time, but he furnishes no proof of this." Shakspeare again uses the word in *As You Like It*, v. 2, acted 1599, "Cæsar's thrasonical brag of—'I came, saw, and overcame.'"

1579. *The Forrest of Fancy. Wherein is conteined very pretty Apothegmes and pleasant histories, both in meeter and prose, Songes, Sonets, Epigrams, and Epistles, of diuerse matter and in diuerse manner. With sundry other diuises, no lesse pithye then pleasaunt and profytable.*

*Reade with regard, peruse each point well,
And then give thy judgement as reason shall move thee;
For eare thou conceive it, twere hard for to tell,
If cause be or no, wherefore to reprove me.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote, dwelling in Newgate Market, within the New Rents, at the signe of the Lucrece. 1579. 4to. 58 leaves. A second edition, considerably augmented, came out in the same year, 1579. 4to. Black letter. 80 leaves. *British Museum.*

The words "L'acquis Abonde, Finis, H. C.," occur on the verso of the last leaf. H. C. has been conjectured to be Henry Chettle, by Ritson, Henry Cheeke, by Malone, and Henry Constable, by Warton.

Of the "pleasant histories," which are in prose, I note two from Boccaccio ;—*Decameron*, III, 5, *Seigneur Francisco Vergelis, for a fayr ambling gelding, suffered one Seigneur Richardo Magnifico to talk with his wife, who gave him no aunswere at all, but he aunswering for her in such sort as if she herself had spoken it, according to the effect of his wordes it came afterwards to passe.* (7 pages.)

Ben Jonson makes use of this bargain in Act I., scene 3, of *The Devil is an Ass*, acted 1616, published 1631. In Jonson's comedy, Wittipol gives Fitzdottrel a cloak for leave to pay his addresses to Mrs. Fitzdottrel for a quarter of an hour.

Decameron, v. 8. *Teodoro and Violante.*

Another prose romance is taken from Straparola, *Le tredici Piacevoli Notti*, I, 1. *One named Salard, departing from Genes, came to Montferat, where he transgressed three commaundementes that his father gave him by his last will and testamente, and being condemned to dye, was delivered, and retourned againe into his owne countrey.* (13 pages.)

The romance of Salardo is the sixty-ninth and last piece in the book. Number 34 is a charming poem of thirty-two stanzas, entitled,

A commendacion of the robin redde brest.

It was so sweete a melody,
that sure I thought some Muse,
Or else some other heavenly wight
did there frequent and use.
But as I cast mine eye asyde
on braunche of willow tree,
A little robin redbrest then
there sitting did I see.

And he it was, and none but he
 that did so sweetely sing ;
 But sure in all my life before
 I never harde the thing,
 That did so much delight my hart,
 or causde me so to joye,
 As did that little robin's song
 that there I heard that day.

The *Forrest of Fancy* also mentions,—from Boccaccio
Il conte d'Anguessa, *Decameron*, II. 8.

Nastagio and Traversari, *Decameron*, v. 8. See, *A Notable
 Historye of Nastagio and Traversari*, 1569, and *Tragical Tales
 Translated by Turbervile*, 1576.

From Bandello

Aleran and Adelasia, II. 27.

The Duchess of Malfy, I. 26, naming the majordomo Ulrico,
 instead of Antonio Bologna, as in Bandello, Belleforest, and
 Painter.

From Giraldi Cintio

Eufimia and Acaristo, VIII, 10. This allusion occurs in one
 of the prose letters of the collection, of which there are not a
 few, mostly love-letters.

Brydges, *Restituta*, Vol. III, pp. 456—476.

1583. *Philotimus. The Warre betwixt Nature and Fortune.*
*Compiled by Brian Melbancke Student in Graies Inne. Palladi
 virtutis famula.*

Imprinted at London by Roger Warde, dwelling neere unto
 Holborne Conduite at the Signe of the Talbot. 1583. 4to.
 117 leaves. Black letter. Bodleian. British Museum.

Dedicated to "Phillip Earle of Arundell."

Philotimus is an imitation of Lyly's *Euphues*, quaint and
 interesting from the many old proverbs and scraps of verse it
 contains. Two of Melbancke's tales are to be found in Boc-

caccio's *Filocolo*, namely, *Questione IV. The Enchanted Garden*, again, and *Questione XII. The Enforced Choice*.

Melbancke also relates a popular anecdote associated with the name of three different French kings. In *Pasquil's Jestes* it is ascribed to Charles V., and is called, *A deceyt of the hope of the couetous with a Turnep*. Giraldi Cintio, *Gli Ecatommiti, Deca Sesta, Novella Nona*, tells the story of *Francesco Valesi, primo re di Francia di tal nome*, and Domenichi, *Facezie, Motti, et Burle, di Diuersi Signori, of Lodouico undecimo re di Francia. Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres, xxiii., Of Kynges Lowes of France and the husbandman*, follows Domenichi. The germ of the story is said to be Arabian.

Philotimus contains an allusion to *Titus and Gisippus*, and, on page 53, the story of *Romeo and Juliet* is referred to as well-known and popular at that time,—

"Nowe Priams sone giue place, thy Helen's hew is stainde.
O Troylus, weepe no more, faire Cressed thyne is lothlye fowle.
Nor Hercules thou haste cause to vaunt for thy swete Omphale:
nor Romeo thou hast cause to weepe for Juliets losse," etc.

The quotation contains a suggestion of Chaucer's fine ballad in the *Prologue to the Legende of Goode Women*,

My lady comith, that al this may disteyne,

a song which Leigh Hunt says is a strain of music fit to go before a queen!

1587. *The Tragicall historie of Romeus and Iuliet, Contayning in it a rare example of true constancie: with the Subtill Counsels and practises of an old Fryer, and their ill euent. Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.*

At London. Imprinted by R. Robinson. 1587. 8vo. 103 leaves. *Capell Coll.*

Cf. *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, by Arthur Brooke, 1562.

1590. *The Cobler of Caunterburie, Or An Inuective Against Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie. A merrier Iest then a*

Clownes Iigge, and fitter for Gentlemens humors. Published with the cost of a dickar of Cowe hides.

At London. Printed by Robert Robinson. 1590. 4to. Black letter. 40 leaves. *Bodleian*. Also, 1608. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* (reprinted by Mr. Frederick Ouvry), and 1614. In 1630, *The Cobler* was issued with a new title,—

The Tincker of Turvey, his merry Pastime in his passing from Billingsgate to Graues-End. The Barge being Freightd with Mirth, and Mann'd

With these Persons	{	<i>Trotter the Tincker</i> <i>Yerker, a Cobler</i> <i>Thumper, a Smith</i> <i>Sir Rowland, a Scholler</i> <i>Bluster, a Sea-man</i>
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And other Mad-merry fellowes, euery-One of them Telling his Tale: All which Tales are full of Delight to Reade ouer, and full of laughter to be heard. Euery Tale-teller being Described in a Neate Character. The Eight seuerall Orders of Cuckolds, marching here likewise in theyr Horned Rankes.

London. Printed for Nath. Butter, dwelling at St. Austins Gate. 1630. 4to. Black letter. *Huth. Bodleian*. 1859. 4to. (J. O. Halliwell.)

The *Cobler of Caunterburie* was attributed to Robert Greene, but he denied the authorship, in his *Vision*, 1592–3, calling it “*incerti authoris*,” and speaking of it as “a merrie worke, and made by some madde fellow, containing plesant tales, a little tainted with scurilitie.” The *Catalogue of Early English Books* enters *The Cobler* under the name “Richard Tarlton.”

One of the stories of the *Cobler*, *The Smith's Tale*, is found both in the *Decameron*, vii. 7, and in the *Pecorone*, iii. 2, of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino. It is *Le Cocu, battu, et content*, of La Fontaine, an extremely popular mediaeval story turning up repeatedly in nearly every modern language. In Elizabethan dramatic literature, it furnishes the underplot of Robert Davenport's tragi-comedy, *The City Nightcap, or Crede quod habes et habes*, licensed 1624, printed 1661. The intrigue is also made

use of in two comedies of the Restoration,—*Love in the Darke: or, The Man of Bus'ness*, "acted at the theatre royal by his Majestie's servants"—written by Sir Francis Fane, Jr., Knight of the Bath, 1675, and *The London Cuckolds*, 1682, 4to., by Edward Ravenscroft.

For an account of the whole matter, see W. H. Schofield, *The Source and History of the Seventh Novel of the Seventh Day in the Decameron*, in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Harvard University, 1892.

Koeppel calls attention to the fact that *The Old Wives Tale* mixes *Decameron*, VII. 1 and VII. 8, Monna Tessa and the phantom and Monna Sismonda with the string around her finger.

Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle, XIII.

1596. *A Margarite of America*.

Printed for J. Busbie. [London.] 1596. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies.) London. 1859. 4to. J. O. Halliwell. Privately printed. *British Museum*.

Dedicated, "To the noble, learned, and vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Russell," "our English Sappho."

A Margarite of America is an Arcadian romance, professing to be the translation of a Spanish history which Lodge discovered in the Jesuits' Library at Santos, Brazil. It was written, he tells us, "at sea four years before (1592) with M. Cavendish, in passing through the Straits of Magellan." Many sonnets and metrical pieces are interspersed, among them two 'pietate' full of color and grace, copied from the Italian poet Lodovico Dolce,—

a. If so those flames I vent when as I sigh.

b. O desarts, be you peopled by my plaints.

A curious series of poems imitate Lodovico Martelli and Lodovico Pascale, while one poem,

With Ganymede now joins the shining sun,

is the earliest known example in English of a sestina. In the length of the lines, and in the arrangement of the *tornada*, Lodge follows Dante's improvement of the original form of the sestina as invented by the Provençal poet, Arnaut Daniel. This form, six six-line stanzas, without rimes, each stanza taking up the last word of the preceding one, is very rare even in early Italian poetry.

1598. *The Honour of Chiualrie, Set downe in the most Famous Historie of the Magnanimious and Heroike Prince Don Bellianis: Sonne unto the Emperour Don Bellaneo of Greece. Wherein are described, the straunge and dangerous Adventures that him befell. With his loue towards the Princesse Florisbella: Daughter unto the Souldan of Babylon. Englished out of Italian by L. A. Sed tamen est tristissima ianua nostrae, Et labor est unus tempora prima pati.*

London. Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598. 4to. Black letter. 1650. 4to. Black letter. Also, 1673. 4to. B. L. (Kirkman), and 1683, 4to., B. L. and 1703, 4to. (J. Shurley or Shirley).

Dedicated "To the right Worshipful, his speciall Patron, Maister John Rotherham, Esquire, one of the sixe Clarkes of her Maiesties most Honourable Court of Chauncery."

The *Huth Library* possesses the only copy known.

Don Belianis de Grecia was one of the continuations of the famous romance *Amadis of Gaul*. It appeared first in Spanish, in 1547, and was written by Jeronimo Fernandez. In 1586, an Italian version was made; in 1598 it was translated into English, and in 1625 into French. *Don Belianis*, according to his veracious historian, Cid Hamet Benengeli, was one of the books of knight-errantry for which Don Quixote sold his acres of arable land.

1652. *Choice Novels and Amorous Tales, written by the most refined Wits of Italy.*

1652. 8vo.

1653. *Nissena, an excellent new Romance, Englished from the Italian, by an honourable Anti-Socordist.*

London. 1653. [1652.] 8vo. *British Museum.*

From the Italian of Francesco Carmeni, who lived during the first half of the seventeenth century. Carmeni was secretary of the *Accademia degli Incogniti*, at Venice, and wrote *Novelle amorose de' signori academici incogniti*. Cremona. 1642. 8vo. Venice. 1651. 4to.

1654. *Dianea: an excellent new Romance. Written in Italian by Geo. Francisco Loredano a noble Venetian. In foure Books. Translated into English by Sir Aston Cokaine.*

London. Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Sign of the Princes Arms in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1654. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Lady Mary Cokaine, Viscountess Cullen.

This is a translation of *La Dianea*, by Giovanni Francesco Loredano, the Younger, to whom 'The Author's Epistle' is inscribed. This Epistle is dated "from Venice, 25 Oct., 1635," nineteen years before the London edition, but a note in Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis* reads, "Oldys in his MS. Notes to Langbaine says there was an edition of *Dianea* in 8vo., 1643."

La Dianea is a collection of romances, published at Venice, in 1636, in four volumes, quarto. A French translation, *La Dianée*, was made by Jean Lavernhe, and was printed at Paris, in 1642, in two volumes, octavo. There is also a Latin translation by Michel Benuccio, and the collection is said to have been so popular that it was often reprinted.

Sir Aston Cokaine writes, "My best of friends colonell Edward Stamford, gave me the author, and intreated me to teach him our language."

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|-------|--|---|
| 1584. | Torquato Tasso Solymeidos..... | Scipione Gentili. |
| 1585. | J. C. Stellae Nob. Rom. Columbeidos..... | Giulio Cesare Stella. |
| 1591. | Il Pastor Fido and Aminta..... | { Giovanni Battista Guarini,
Torquato Tasso. |
| 1595. | Il primo libro delle Ballate..... | Thomas Morley. |
| 1596. | Rime | Lodovico Petrucci. |
| 1613. | Raccolta d'alcune rime..... | Lodovico Petrucci. |
| 1619. | La Caccia | Alessandro Gatti. |
| 1637. | R. P. E. Thesauri Caesares | Count, Emmanuele Tesauero. |
| 1645. | Poems by Mr. John Milton. | |
| 1658. | La Fida Pastora..... | Sir Richard Fanshawe. |

e. Corrigenda to First Paper (on Romances in Prose).

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|
| [1550?] | Valentine and Orson..... | Henry Watson. |
| [1566?] | Philocopo..... | H. G. |
| 1568. | Flower of Friendshippe..... | Edmund Tilnay. |
| 1573. | Garden of Pleasure..... | James Sandford. |
| 1578. | Tarltons Tragical Treatises..... | Richard Tarlton. |
| 1579. | Forrest of Fancy..... | H. C. |
| 1583. | Philotimus..... | Bryan Melbancke. |
| 1587. | Tragicall history of Romeus and Juliet. | |
| 1590. | Cobler of Caunterburie. | |
| 1596. | A Margarite of America..... | Thomas Lodge. |
| 1598. | Don Bellianis..... | L. A. |
| 1652. | Choice Novels and Amorous Tales. | |
| 1653. | Nissena. | |
| 1654. | Dianea..... | Sir Aston Cokain. |

INDEX OF TRANSLATORS.

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|-------------------------|----------------|
| A. L..... | f. 1598. |
| Achelley, Thomas..... | f. 1576. |
| Armin, Robert..... | f. 1610. |
| Barclay, Alexander..... | 1475 (?)—1552. |
| Beverley, Peter..... | f. 1565—6. |
| * Br. Fr. Gent..... | f. 1638. |
| Bristowe, Francis..... | f. 1635. |
| Broke, Arthur..... | d. 1563. |

* Perhaps Fr. Br. Gent., the translator of *The Tragedie of Alceste and Elisa*, 1638, from Bracciolini's *La Croce racquistata*, and Francis Bristowe, who translated the tragedy *Roy Franc-arbitre*, 1635 (Negri's *Libero Arbitrio*), are one and the same person.

Byrd, William.....	1538 (?)—1623.
C. H.....	f. 1579.
C. T.....	f. 1570.
Carew, Richard.....	1555—1620.
Chapman, George.....	1559 (?)—1634.
Cheeke, Henry.....	1548 (?)—1586 (?).
Chester, Robert.....	1566 (?)—1640 (?).
Cokain, Sir Aston.....	1608—1684.
Crashaw, Richard.....	1612 (?)—1649.
Dancer, John.....	f. 1660—1675.
Daniel, Samuel.....	1562—1619.
Dowland, Robert.....	f. 1610.
Drout, John.....	f. 1570.
Drummond, William.....	1585—1649.
Dymock, ———.....	f. 1602.
Fairfax, Edward.....	d. 1635.
Fanshawe, Sir Richard.....	1608—1666.
Fraunce, Abraham.....	f. 1587—1633.
G. H.....	f. 1566.
Gascoigne, George.....	1525 (?)—1577.
Googe, Barnabe.....	1540—1594.
Goubourne, John.....	f. 1570—1594.
H. R.....	f. 1608.
Harington, Sir John.....	1561—1612.
Harvey, Thomas.....	f. 1656.
Heywood, Thomas.....	d. 1650 (?).
Hume, Anna.....	f. 1644.
Kepers, John.....	f. 1580.
Kinwelmarsh, Francis.....	f. 1572.
Lawrence, Leonard.....	f. 1639.
Lewicke, Edward.....	f. 1562.
Lynche, Richard.....	f. 1596—1601.
Lodge, Thomas.....	1558 (?)—1625.
Lydgate, John.....	1370 (?)—1451 (?).
Markham, Gervase.....	1568—1637.
Melbancke, Bryan.....	f. 1583.
Morley, Thomas.....	1557 (?)—1604.
Munday, Anthony.....	1553—4—1633.
Murray, Sir David, of Gorthy.....	1567—1629.
Parker, Henry (Lord Morley and Mount-Eagle).....	1476—1556.
Paynell, Thomas.....	f. 1528—1567.
Pœnd, Thomas de la.....	f. 1565.
Reynolds, Henry.....	f. 1628—1632.
S. J.....	f. 1597.
S. J.....	f. 1655.

Sandford, James.....	f. 1573-1576.
Spenser, Edmund.....	1552 (?)—1599.
Sylvester, Joshua.....	1563-1618.
Tarlton, Richard.....	f. 1570-1588.
Tilnay, Edmund.....	d. 1610.
Tofte, Robert.....	d. 1620.
Turberville, George.....	1530 (?)—1600 (?).
Twyne, Thomas.....	1543-1613.
Tye, Christopher.....	f. 1569.
Warner, William.....	1558-1609.
Watson, Henry.....	f. 1517-18.
Watson, Thomas.....	1557 (?)—1592.
Whetstone, George.....	f. 1576-1587.
Yonge, Nicholas.....	f. 1588-1597.

INDEX OF ITALIAN AUTHORS.

Ariosto, Lodovico.....	1474-1533.
Bandello, Matteo.....	1480 (?)—1562 (?).
<i>Bellay, Joachim du</i>	1524-1560.
<i>Belleforest, Francois de</i>	1530-1583.
Bembo, Francesco.....	?
Bembo, Pietro, <i>Cardinal</i>	1470-1547.
Berni, Francesco.....	1498-1535.
<i>Boaistuau de Launai, Pierre</i>	d. 1566 (?).
Boccaccio, Giovanni.....	1313-1375.
Boiardo, Matteo Maria, <i>Count</i>	1434-1494.
Bonarelli, Giudubaldo, <i>Count</i>	1563-1608.
Bracciolini, Francesco.....	1566-1645 or 6.
Bruni, Leonardo (Aretino).	1369-1444.
Carmeni, Francesco.....	f. 1642.
Celiano, Livio.....	f. 1587-1592.
Colonna, Guido delle.....	d. 1292.
<i>Desportes, Philippe</i>	1545-1606.
Dolce, Lodovico.....	1508-1568 or 9.
Domenichi, Luigi.....	1500 (?)—1564.
Fiorenzuola, Agnolo.....	1493-1545.
Folengo, Teofilo (Merlinus Cocaius, Limerno Pitocco).....	1491-1544.
Fregoso (Fulgoso, Campofregoso), Battista, Doge of Genoa, 1479...b. 1440.	
Gatti, Alessandro.....	f. 1619.
Gentili, Scipione.....	1565-1616.
Giovanni, Ser (Fiorentino).....	f. 1378.
Giraldi, Giovanni Battista (Cintio).....	1504-1573.
Guarini, Giovanni Battista.....	1537-1612.

<i>Herberay, Nicolas de, Seigneur des Essarts</i>	d. 1552 (?)
<i>Le Fèvre, Raoul</i>	f. 1464
Loredano, Giovanni Francesco.....	1606-1661.
Manzoli, Pietro Angelo (Palingenius).....	f. 1537.
Marenzio, Luca.....	1560 (?)—1599.
Marini (Marino) Giovanni Battista.....	1569-1625.
Maraffi, Bartolommeo, (Florentine).....	?
Martelli, Lodovico.....	1499-1527.
<i>Montreux, Nicolas de (Olenix du Mont Sacré)</i>	f. 1581-1608.
Negri, Francesco, di Bassano.....	f. 1537-1559.
Parabosco, Girolamo.....	d. 1557.
Pascale, Lodovico.....	f. 1549.
Petrarca, Francesco.....	1304-1374.
Petrucci, Lodovico (Ubal dini, Petruccio).....	1524 (?)—1600 (?)
Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano.....	1426-1503.
Romei, Annibale. <i>Count</i>	?
Serafino, Cimino, Aquilano.....	1466-1500.
Spagnuoli, Giovanni Battista.....	1448-1516.
Stella, Giulio Cesare.....	1564-1624.
Strada, Famiano.....	1572-1649.
Straparola, Giovanni Francesco, da Caravaggio.....	d. 1557 (?)
Strozzi, Ercole.....	1471-1508.
Tasso, Torquato.....	1544-1595.
Tesauro, Emmanuele, <i>Count</i>	1591-1677.
Trissino, Giovan Giorgio.....	1478-1550.
Varchi, Benedetto.....	1502-1565.

MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
DECEMBER 26, 27, 28,
1895.



THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

In response to an invitation extended by the Modern Language Club of Yale University, the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA held its thirteenth annual meeting in Osborn Hall of Yale University, New Haven, Conn., December 26, 27, 28, 1895.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 26.

The first regular session of the meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock a. m., by the President of the Association, Professor James Morgan Hart.

The Secretary, James W. Bright, submitted as his report the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting of the Association. This report was adopted.

The Treasurer of the Association, M. D. Learned, presented the following report :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 23, 1894,	.	.	.	.	.	\$437 29
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts						
from Subscribing Libraries:						
For the year 1892,	.	.	.	.	\$ 9 00	
" " " 1893,	.	.	.	.	24 00	
" " " 1894,	.	.	.	.	93 00	
" " " 1895,	.	.	.	.	869 72	
" " " 1896,	.	.	.	.	14 10	
Sale of <i>Publications</i>,	.	.	.	.	31 50	

For partial cost of publication of articles and
for reprints of the same:

E. S. Lewis,	91 30
F. Tupper, Jr.,	130 00
M. A. Scott,	59 00
J. H. Gorrell,	135 00
H. E. Coblenz,	77 00
Kuno Francke,	2 00
Balance from the Account of Advertisements,	72 00

\$1,607 62

Total receipts for the year, \$2,044 91

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. X, 1, and Reprints,	\$245 26
Publication of " X, 2, " "	380 54
Publication of " X, 3, " "	393 11
Publication of " X, 4, " "	264 61
Expenditures of the Secretary,	59 92
" " " Treasurer,	33 75
Programmes, 1894, \$25.00; 1895, \$34.30,	59 30
Stenographer,	32 50
R. R. Agent,	11 00

Total expenditures for the year, \$1,479 99

Balance on hand December 26, 1895, 564 92

\$2,044 91

Balance on hand December 26, 1895, . . \$564 92

The President appointed the following Committees:

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Professors O. F. Emerson and M. M. Ramsay.
- (2) To nominate officers: Professors Albert S. Cook, P. B. Marcou, J. M. Manly, J. B. Henneman and George Hempl.
- (3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors A. M. Elliott, E. S. Sheldon, A. Cohn, Bliss Perry and Gustav Gruener.

The Secretary presented the following communication from the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference:

CHICAGO, ILL., Dec. 21st, 1895.

PROFESSOR JAMES W. BRIGHT,

Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America.

Dear Sir,

The Central Modern Language Conference, temporarily established last summer, will convene between Dec. 30th and Jan. 1st, at the University of Chicago, to consider plans for a permanent organization. Through correspondence and personal interviews with members of the Modern Language Association of America, the Officers of the Central Modern Language Conference have ascertained that a coöperation between the two Societies is by all considered most desirable.

To secure an expression of the sentiment of the Modern Language Association, and thus prepare the ground for a fruitful discussion at our first regular meeting, the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference herewith begs leave to submit to the Members of the Modern Language Association of America the following two plans. Both propositions are based on the assumption that the two Societies will be united in the matter of publications. The first plan is intended to provide for an independent organization, coöperating with the Modern Language Association only in the publication of papers; while the second plan provides for a closer union, rendering the Central Modern Language Conference a new branch of the older Association, with a geographically different field for its activity.

Plan I.

1. The Central Modern Language Conference shall publish in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* such papers as may be selected by the editorial committee of the Central Modern Language Conference.
2. The papers are to be printed in one quarterly issue, three-fourths of the expenses to be defrayed by funds from the Central Modern Language Conference.
3. Members of the Central Modern Language Conference shall be entitled to this quarterly number only.
4. Members of the Modern Language Association shall receive this quarterly number, toward the publication of which they pay their pro rata of the cost, i. e., one-fourth.

Plan II.

1. The Central Modern Language Conference, under this or any other name, the Members may decide upon, is to be constituted as the Western or Central branch of the Modern Language Association of America.

2. The Central Modern Language Conference shall elect its own Officers, including a Treasurer, subject to its own constitution.

3. The fees shall be uniformly three dollars (\$3.00) for each Member of the Central Modern Language Conference.

4. Such papers as may be selected by the editorial committee of the Central Modern Language Conference shall be published in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

5. All publications, including the Proceedings, shall be edited by the Secretary of the Modern Language Association, with the coöperation, as at present, of an editorial committee, of which the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference shall be a member *ex officio*.

6. All Members of the Central Modern Language Conference shall be entitled to one copy of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

7. The Treasurer of the Central Modern Language Conference shall semi-annually transmit to the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association such funds as have not been spent for current expenses of the Central Modern Language Conference.

To insure an early action in the settlement of the relations of the two Associations, I may be allowed to suggest the appointment of a Committee, after a discussion *in pleno*, with full power to act. The Central Modern Language Conference will appoint a similar committee.

Hoping for an early reply, and trusting that our negotiations may lead to an extensive coöperation for the best interests of Modern Language work, I remain

Yours respectfully,

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,

Secretary of the C. M. L. A.

In accordance with a vote of the Association, the President appointed the following committee to consider this communication.

George Lyman Kittredge, *Chairman*.

James Morgan Hart,

James W. Bright.

A letter from Professor A. S. Isaacs, of the University of the City of New York, suggesting that the Association consider the subject of German and French in the Secondary Schools and of uniform College Entrance Requirements in these languages, was referred to the Pedagogical Section of the Association.

Professor J. B. Henneman offered a motion that during the present meeting the time allowed for the reading of each paper be limited to twenty minutes, and that no one shall occupy more than five minutes in the discussion of a paper.

The motion was adopted.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The origin of the rule forbidding hiatus in French verse." By Dr. P. B. Marcou, of Harvard University.

This paper was discussed by Professor E. S. Sheldon.

2. "Marco Polo and the *Squier's Tale*." By Professor John M. Manly, of Brown University.

3. "Goethe's attitude toward contemporary politics." By Dr. Robert N. Corwin, of Yale University.

4. "Ueber Goethe's sonette." By Professor J. Schipper, of the University of Vienna, Austria. [This paper was presented by the Secretary.]

SECOND SESSION.

The second regular session was convened December 26, at 2.30 p. m. President James Morgan Hart presided.

5. "The conventions of the drama." By Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia College.

Remarks upon this paper were offered by Professors A. H. Tolman and A. Cohn.

6. "The *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage* in modern poetry." By Professor Gustav Gruener, of Yale University.

7. "Notes on John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester." By Mr. Henry S. Paucoast, of Germantown, Pa.

John Tiptoft was representative of the antagonistic tendencies in the England of his time; the England of the Wars of the Roses and the rise

of the "New Learning;" of Caxton and Richard III. The study of his character and career illuminates this complex and interesting epoch. Tiptoft was born at Everton, Cambridgeshire, probably in 1428. The Tiptofts had risen through the patronage of the House of Lancaster. On his mother's side Tiptoft was descended from that Prince of Powys that Scott introduced into "The Betrothed." He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford; a College which then held a peculiarly important relation to the introduction of the "New Learning" into England. Three men, besides Tiptoft himself, left this College during the middle years of the century, to study in Italy and bring back books and ~~ms.~~ to their University. The fact is significant when we remember that Grocyn's visit to Italy was not until about 1485, some thirty years later than Tiptoft's. Tiptoft was made Earl of Worcester by Henry VI. in 1449, but shortly after deserted the King's party for that of York, and in 1452 became Lord High Treasurer apparently by the Duke of York's influence. He held this post until 1456, when he was dismissed with other high officials of the Yorkist party, Henry VI. having gained a temporary advantage over the opposite faction. Hard pressed by the Court party, York took up arms against the King. At this critical time, Tiptoft appears to have abandoned his patron for a trip to Jerusalem and Italy, "desiring," says Bale, "before all things, rest." After some time in Jerusalem, he returned by way of Venice, Padua and Rome, making his famous Latin oration before the Pope and Cardinals and winning great distinction. "What worship had he in Rome," writes Caxton, "in the presence of our Holy Father, the Pope." This Pope was Pius Second, known as Aeneas Sylvius, a noted humanist. Tiptoft then studied about three years (probably from 1458-9 to 1460-61) under Gwarino at Ferrara. Gwarino having been a pupil of Chrysoloras, the missionary to Italy of the "New Learning," we have in this succession the epitome of a great world-movement.

Tiptoft is found again in England in 1461. Two events probably induced his return, the death of Gwarino in 1460, and the accession of Edward IV. in 1461. Although he had left the Yorkists at the outbreak of the Civil War, and only returned in their day of triumph, he was at once distinguished by the royal favor, and held numerous high posts up to the time of his death. A great scholar and patron of letters, his career is blackened with a cruelty which called forth execration even in that bloody time. Sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1467, within a few months he brought about the execution of Lord Desmond, his predecessor in office, on the charge of treason. The Irish authorities claim that he acted under secret instructions from the Queen, who had a personal grudge against Desmond. This is not substantiated; but Tiptoft's conduct is certainly open to suspicion. The matter is made more deplorable by Desmond's high character, and the singular fact that he too was a scholar and patron of learning. According to tradition, Tiptoft murdered Desmond's young sons at the same time. Hall tells the story in his Chronicle, and refers to it as Tiptoft's worst act of cruelty. It is also mentioned in the poem on "The Infamous End of the Lord Tiptoft," &c., in "The Mirror for Magistrates."

In 1470, during the rising of Warwick in behalf of the Lancastrians, certain brutal indignities were inflicted by Tiptoft's order upon the bodies of twenty prisoners (Stow says, "both gentlemen and seamen"), which he, as Lord High Constable, had sentenced to execution. From the savagery of this act, Tiptoft was called "the butcher of England." Warkworth's Chronicle, after relating the occurrence, adds: "For the which the people of the land were greatly displeased, and ever afterwards the Earl of Worcester was greatly [be] hated among the people, for these disordinate deaths that he used contrary to the law of the land." The wanton ferocity of this action brings to mind the Italian proverb, quoted by Ascham in proof of the brutalizing effect of Italy upon the English nature: *Inglese Italianato è un diabolico incarnato*.

During the momentary triumph of Warwick, Tiptoft was taken prisoner while hiding in the top of a high tree, which expressed, says the Chronicler, "the precipice of his fortunes." He was tried before the Earl of Oxford, whose father and brother had, eight years before, been beheaded by his command, condemned and executed on Tower Hill. Fabyan declares that as he was being taken from Westminster to his execution, "the people pressed so importunately on him" that the Sheriffs were obliged to borrow jail for him that night in the Fleet. This incident is told with additions in "The Mirror for Magistrates." The mob being there represented as so infuriated against Tiptoft that he feared they would have eaten him alive.

Caxton's tributes to Tiptoft are numerous and familiar. If the printer is to be trusted, Tiptoft was the most learned man among the English nobility of his time. It is generally overlooked that these tributes cannot be set down to personal friendship. Tiptoft is known as Caxton's friend and patron, but Caxton did not return to England, after a continuous absence of some thirty-five years, until about six years after Tiptoft's execution. Caxton's words are rather evidence of the high estimation in which Tiptoft's scholarship was held. Tiptoft reflects his age at its best and worst. He was set at a confluence of evil influences, when civil strife following the Hundred years War had debauched the English nobility. Abroad he came close to that Italy which Machiavelli called "the corrupter of the world." Yet a new intellectual life was growing, and Tiptoft's career alternates between scholarship and political intrigues. He shows us how early the new spirit was astir in England, and how it was retarded; he is the "butcher" and "the first fruits of the Italian Renaissance."

8. "A Wilhelm Tell ballad in America." By Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The President called to the chair Professor Francis A. March, formerly President of the Association.

9. "*Warmph*: a study of the development and the disappearance of a stop between nasal and spirant in American English." By Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University.

This paper was discussed by Professors Leo Wiener and Francis A. March.

10. "Notes on Ben Jonson's quarrel with Marston." By Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

EXTRA SESSION.

The Association convened in an Extra Session December 26, at 8 p. m.

Dr. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale University opened the meeting by a brief Address of Welcome.

Professor T. R. Lounsbury, President of the Modern Language Club of Yale University, welcomed the Association in behalf of the Club.

The size of the gathering and the character of the men who composed it struck him as significant of the radical change that had taken place in the educational system of the country during the last quarter of a century. Thirty years before such a gathering would have been impossible; forty years before no one would have believed that it ever would be possible. He was disposed to think that the scholars of the younger generation had very little conception of the difficulties encountered by the men of the older generation in the departments of study represented on this occasion. In the curriculum of forty years before the position held by all the modern languages was worse than unimportant, it was abject. English in particular had no recognized position at all. Its study is the creation of the past thirty years. He had himself passed through four years of a college course without once hearing from the lips of an instructor in the class-room the name of a single English author or the title of a single English classic. The only text-book which he studied under the professor of English, when he was in college, was the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown in the original Greek. There had been nothing exceptional in this. His experience was essentially the same as that of all his contemporaries. It was a matter of supreme satisfaction that this had now all been changed: that the modern languages had at last taken their rightful place in the college curriculum, not to the exclusion or depreciation of any studies, but as contributory to

the common good of all. In bringing about this result the men who were here before him had been largely instrumental, and he congratulated the members of the Association on the great work they had achieved in the past and the still brighter prospects that were opening before them in the future.

Professor James Morgan Hart, President of the Association, then read an address upon the subject :

"ENGLISH AS A LIVING LANGUAGE."

English is a living language. At least philologists, popular orators, and genial newspaper editors give us that assurance. In fact I have even entitled this address accordingly. Yet I wish I could persuade myself that the assurance does not cloak a self-deception. English, we say, is a living language. What is a *living* language? Scarcely one that transmits itself by merely living upon the past, that echoes in distorted shape the formulæ of the past without respiring the vital spirit.

English is *our* living language, that is, we use it for the expression of our daily needs, small and great. But why and how do we use it? Do we use it because we have really mastered it and can use it at will, this intensely idiomatic language, feeling ourselves truly at home in its subtleties? Or do we use it merely in a blind, half-conscious manner, aware that in any other idiom we should express ourselves even more awkwardly?

Let us look at the undergraduate world? It is a queer world. It still has its glamour, even for those of us who figure our undergraduate career with a 60 instead of a 90. There are still the college traditions and interests and Greek-letter fraternities, there is still the conventional conflict of classes, the same clannishness. Names may have changed; the outward show of life has become richer. There are dress-suits now and elaborate suppers, etchings and oriental rugs. Is the spirit changed likewise? In the matter of English, for example, do our end-of-the-century undergraduates express themselves better than the men of the sixties or the fifties?

Speaking for myself I would answer that the present generation is inferior to that of thirty years ago, much inferior. Not, of course, that every student now writes badly and that every student thirty years ago wrote well. I am speaking only of the general average of expression. This average, then, I believe, has fallen perceptibly in thirty years. The belief rests upon many grounds, but I shall mention here only two—one general and recognizable by all, the other more personal.

The first ground is to be found in the Harvard reports. Every autumn for the past three years an intelligent public has been called upon officially, by the Harvard authorities, to recognize in the Harvard undergraduate a young man unable to spell or to punctuate, or to form a coherent sentence,

or to do more than guess at the meanings of the words he uses. At the beginning of each college year the columns of our literary or would-be literary newspapers in the East are enlivened with specimens of college writing, with tart protests from school-teachers, and with possible and impossible remedies proposed for a crying evil,—all evoked by or connected in some way with the Harvard report.

We know, of course, that in this annual October explosion there is much exaggeration. We know that where an evil is to be remedied the first step sometimes is to make the evil appear worse than it really is. We do not, certainly I do not, believe that young Harvard is quite as hopeless as he seems. Yet, after every allowance for exaggeration has been made, the fact remains that our oldest and largest seat of learning, the college which has been most constantly and intimately associated with American literary culture, now finds it necessary to tell the world that the great body of its undergraduates is without the literary sense, and that something—nobody seems to know precisely what—must be done. Would the Harvard of 1865 have felt itself called upon to make such a declaration? Did the Harvard of 1865 even perceive that there was an "English question?"

The other ground of my belief is to be found in my personal experiences at Cornell. I was a member of the faculty during the first four years, from 1868–1872. Although giving instruction at that time in the departments of French and German, and having no direct connection with the English department, I was fairly well acquainted with the writing abilities of the students as a body. They were not brilliant writers, certainly, though some were far above the average, but they wrote in a manner that was at least satisfactory. Even the poorest of them seemed to be aware of their imperfections. Returning to Cornell, after an absence of eighteen years, to become responsible head of the Rhetoric department, I was startled at the change. There seemed to be a total absence of the choicer gifts of expression, even among the better writers, while the poorer ones wrote with an indifference to the proprieties that was positively brutal. Well, we of the department have changed all that. We have struck hard and kept on striking, until we are now looked up to with wholesome respect as men who know what we want and will have it.

But what a struggle it has cost to work this simple reform, and what a struggle it still costs to keep the reform alive! May I ask, as a man and a brother, why this necessity should be? Why all this painful energy over the rudiments of education? Cornell University now maintains six instructors and assistants, at an annual expense of several thousand dollars, for giving English instruction, two-thirds of which could and should be given just as well in every good school. It is not surprising, then, that well informed foreigners condemn our American college system as wasteful.

I have mentioned the school. It too, like the college, has its lights and its shades. At present the shades seem to be the more prominent. The school is less praised for the good it accomplishes and seldom or never escapes

due scoring for the good it fails to do. This Association counts among its members not a few school-teachers, some of whom are doubtless here present. But most persons whom I have the privilege of addressing are college professors. To you professors, then, let me whisper in confidence: Have you ever been satisfied with your preparatory schools? Do you ever expect to be satisfied? In a sense, I admit, educators ought never to be satisfied, for true education is progressive. Educators have a right to demand improved methods and better results. Accordingly you college professors of Latin and Greek, of French and German, of Mathematics and Natural Science, are clamorous for better trained Freshmen. The question arises: Are you likely to get what you ask? I believe that you are, and sooner than you expect. The Committee of Ten, though they have settled nothing, have certainly cleared a path. All that is now needed is a precise formulation, on the one hand, of what the colleges conscientiously need; on the other hand, of what the schools can effectively teach.

Would that I could speak to my fellow professors of English in a like tone of confidence. The English question, so-called, is wider, more complicated, more subtle, than Latin or Mathematics. I said, a moment ago, that in order to bring about a thorough coöperation of school and college, the one thing needed is "a precise formulation" of school capacities and college needs. In Latin, for example, this clear formulation is always possible. Would a college professor and a school-teacher ever seriously disagree upon the goodness or badness of the preparation in Latin of a given boy of eighteen? I think not. Is any such clear formulation possible, at present, in the English preparation? My doubts on this point are serious, perhaps insuperable. I do not believe that we professors have anything like a uniform standard of preparation, and I am quite convinced that among the schools at large there is no standard at all. There are even some schools which ask for special consideration, on the plea that they are *unable to teach English well enough*. I have on file a letter written by a personal friend of mine, a trustee of one of the oldest and best known schools in the country. A pupil from this school had been rejected in our Cornell entrance-examination in English. Presuming on old friendship, I sent a remonstrance to this trustee, asking him how his school, with its prestige, could afford to send up such a candidate, unable to spell or punctuate or give the slightest evidence that he had received one month's training in English composition. The answer to my remonstrance was friendly enough in tone, but in substance it amounted to this: I have looked into the matter and conferred with our Board. Strangely enough, Professor ——— of ——— College makes the same complaint that you make. But I am constrained to say, regretfully, that we can do nothing.

This, you may well exclaim, is bad enough; yet there are still lower depths. A year or two ago a young man presented himself at Cornell for admission. English was the only subject in which he was to be examined. His writing was so bad that the department recommended that he be ex-

cluded from the University altogether. The entrance-committee accepted the recommendation. The young man, by the advice of the principal of the school, appealed to the Faculty; the Faculty confirmed unanimously the action of the Committee. Still unsatisfied with this unmistakable expression of opinion, the principal foolishly imagined that he might force an entrance by the back door. He wrote to one of the trustees of the University, begging him to use his personal influence with the President to compel a reconsideration by the Faculty. It may not be wholly superfluous to add, as a final item, that the principal was politely but firmly ejected.

I mention the incident because it represents the attitude of certain schools. This principal could not then understand, nor does he now understand, *why a young man, incapable of penning two coherent sentences of English, should be excluded from an institution of higher learning*. As Hamlet would say: There's the rub. The issue, as I look upon it, is a vital one. Suffer me, then, to dwell upon it.

On assuming, five years ago, my present office in Cornell, I discovered in the university register a statement to the effect that no candidate markedly deficient in English should be admitted to any course. When the measure was adopted, I do not know. Still less do I know the occasion which led to its adoption. Presumably matters had come to such a pass that something must be done of the heroic sort. Yet, for all its atmosphere of *brutum fulmen*, the measure was a wise one, none the less wise because its wisdom was unconscious. Our Faculty had the good luck to stumble upon a true principle, one which I commend unqualifiedly to all here present, in the hope that you may obtain from your respective faculties the adoption of a like measure. But, in urging the measure, let me justify its wisdom upon the proper grounds.

Take English out of the list of ordinary requirements and treat it as something entering into all other studies and dominating them all. Make English your one general and determining test of all training. This demand, so far from being unreasonable, is in truth the only rational demand, for it rests upon a basis at once theoretical and practical. No one has, in my judgment, formulated the issue more aptly than Prof. Wendell, of Harvard. Every other study, says Professor Wendell, is a "mystery," a specialty cultivated by specialists. It has a method and a jargon of its own, it is esoteric, it does not exist for the outside world. The more advanced it becomes, the more recondite and unintelligible. Whereas readable English is our sole recognized medium of communication upon general matters. Therefore it should possess the qualities essential to all circulating mediums, whether of money or of brains. It should be of an unmistakable standard.

Now I do not believe that either school or college has this standard. Am I justified, then, in attributing to this want of a standard the greater part of all that is irritating and wasteful in our educational system? Or is it only a dream of mine, this suspicion that a poor writer is poor because he is a poor thinker? Am I a visionary in maintaining that the ability to

express one's knowledge, to communicate it in intelligible and readable shape, *is an essential part of one's knowledge?*

Be you the judges! Apply the principle as a practical test in your college examination-papers. Are you prepared to assert that a student is adequately trained in German, let us say, when he is unable to express in English the grammatical logic of a German sentence, the relation of dative and accusative, of verb and object? Do you truly believe that a student is mastering history in its sequence of cause and effect, when he is unable to express this causal sequence in phrases that have grammatical sequence?

It would be wiser of us to admit frankly that we are all hampered in our work, both of instructing and of examining, by the constant necessity of deciphering English hieroglyphics. Our students do not understand us, we do not understand them, because the medium of communication is not uniform and explicit. To this extent, then, our professorial efforts must fail. Hence, I say, it is the duty of the college to protect itself by closing its doors upon the inadequately trained. Deficiency in Latin may not prevent a young man from achieving distinction in Mathematics, and vice versa. But defective English vitiates all work in every department. It makes the young man a butt among his fellows and a thorn in the side of every instructor. It prevents that culture which is supposed to be the aim of college life. We are already wasting time and energy enough, heaven knows, upon ignorance. Why should we waste a single hour upon crass incompetence?

If you accept all this, you define at once the relation of school to college. The school is to give the most thorough training in English, not merely, not even chiefly, because such training is needed in college, but because such training is the vital and informing spirit of all education. *The school is to do its duty by all its scholars, whether they afterwards go to college or not, because the ability to state one's knowledge in clear and proper English is the one unfailing test of knowledge, the one universally recognized badge of scholarship.*

Why should the study of English be thus set on a pinnacle, as it were, dominating all other studies? Or, in the serio-comic words of a professor of the classics, why should the English department have the veto-power? I can answer only in the form of a paradox: the study of English should dominate everything else precisely because it is *not a study*, but the acquisition of a habit, of an art, of an indispensable gift. This acquisition cannot be hurried through with a year or less of special "cram;" it implies slow, patient, unremitting effort year after year, under incessant supervision and correction. It is emphatically anything but an easy process for the average scholar. It means the appreciation of synonyms in a language singularly rich in shades of meaning but singularly defective in the outward signs by which to recognize them. It means the appreciation of word-order in a language which has little or no syntax proper and in which word-order counts for nearly everything. Above all it means the implanting and cultivation of the *sense of form* in young persons to whom, or to the greater number of whom, form, that is, the saying a thing properly and effectively is an unknown quantity.

This obtuseness to form in English expression is unpardonable. Yet I am unaware of any serious and systematic attempt to remedy it. It is an Anglo-American trait, but in its exaggeration is distinctively American. We, as a nation, have gone so far in our republican contempt of traditional etiquette—what we call the humbug of Old World ceremony—that we tolerate, if we do not actually encourage, in our youth a feeling of impatience towards all form. I have even known students to resent my correction of their misused words and uncouth sentences. They seemed to think that the blue-pencil or red-ink marks were a direct slur upon their statement of scientific fact. One young man, who prefaced his graduation thesis in Chemistry with the comfortable assurance that it was the work of a 'promising young student,' asked why I drew my pen through the phrase. Whereupon I asked him what the phrase meant, and was informed that it meant a young student who promised to do as well as he knew how. One of our Cornell faculty, in the course of the debate upon a resolution (finally adopted) authorizing the readers of examination papers to condition the writers for very defective English, although the substance of the paper might be sufficiently correct, protested that it would be impossible to enforce such a method in his department, the subject was too technical and did not turn upon the use of language. It will not surprise you, then, to learn that the professor was once called upon to consider, in mining engineering, a graduation thesis in which the word *ore* was spelled throughout with charming consistency *oar*.

We have not yet devised any serious and systematic method of inculcating in our school children the sense of English form. In making the assertion I am far from overlooking the results accomplished in the last two years by our English committee of ten, with its five New England associates. The labors of the committee were patient and well directed, and the result, namely, the adoption of a uniform entrance-examination in English for all the leading colleges east of the Mississippi, was a long, a very long step towards the goal. But we should be very unwise to treat it as the final step. In truth, it is only a good beginning. It substitutes for hopeless confusion uniformity of requirement. But this uniformity is not in itself a method of instruction. Our ideal method should aim at securing the art, the technique, the gift of English expression, in other words, English form. Our actual programme merely prescribes certain books and an examination upon them. This is certainly much better than the former confusion. At all events it gives the college examiner the means of determining whether a given candidate knows how to spell, punctuate, paragraph, and use words. But it does not preclude the possibility of "cram" for the examination. And, on the other hand, it fails to indicate to the school the best method of teaching form.

That cramming for the entrance-examination will still thrive, is painfully clear. A very bright and successful teacher writes to me: "Our school is unwilling to give me more than one year for preparing my scholars for

college. In this one year I must rush them through all the books." This school is a large and well-equipped free academy in a large city. If such perversity is the outcome of city enlightenment, what must we not expect from the back-country districts? And is it not the duty of the college to repress such worse than useless haste?

What method of instruction, then is to be recommended to the preparatory schools, and, if possible, urged upon them? In the absence of everything like *consensus* among the colleges on this vital question, each college can speak only for itself. My ideal is this.

The English course is to extend through six years, from twelve to eighteen; two years in the grammar school, four in the high school.

In the grammar school there is to be a daily exercise, in which the child is taught to use simple words correctly, to form clear and correct sentences, and to employ with discrimination the more usual signs of punctuation. A beginning is also to be made in paragraph-structure. All the exercises are to be very short, never exceeding twenty minutes, and are to be promptly corrected by the teacher and returned with the corrections in writing. But before the child hands in his writing he is to have a few minutes in which to read it over carefully and make his own attempt at correction.

In the high school there are to be at least four exercises a week, each of forty minutes. The first two years are to be given to paragraphing, in all its varieties, the paragraphs ranging in length from sixty to two hundred words. The use of the subject or topic sentence, unity, and sequence should be enforced rigorously; also the art of varying the length and the quality of sentence-structure. In the last two years the stress may be laid upon composition-writing; but no composition should exceed one thousand words. This is ample allowance of space for exemplifying sequence of paragraphs and for treating successive stages or aspects of a general subject.

In these weekly exercises, and as an integral part of them, it would be possible to interpret carefully all the books prescribed for college and perhaps as many more equally good, and to examine the scholar upon their contents in general and even in detail. I see no reason why all the required composition in the high school should not be directly connected with these books. A very apt scholar, with an evident bent towards originality, might be encouraged, of course, to write upon independent lines; but my plan is arranged solely for the average scholar, from whom it would be worse than useless to expect originality.

This high school writing, whether as independent paragraph or as longer composition, is to be largely in the field of description and narration. The young are to be taught to represent concrete objects at rest and in motion, before they attempt to discuss the general relations of things, i. e., to write in exposition. Yet, strangely enough, the greater part of the little school writing that is now taught is expository. The young are called upon to *discuss* things before they have been trained to *see* them. From this it

results that they learn neither to see nor to discuss. Their writing is aimless and immethodical.

In the high school course, however, there is time enough for exposition. Certainly in the last two years, in connection with such texts as Burke's *Conciliation*, Webster's *Bunker Hill*, Macaulay's *Chatham* or *Addison*, there will be no lack of subjects for expository treatment.

I have sketched for you an ideal course. You will scarcely doubt its efficiency; for it consists in generous reading, plentiful writing, and unlimited correction. But some of you will interpose a doubt, you will say: Can we *get* such a course? Most assuredly you will not get it until you *ask* for it. Have you ever asked for it? Not to the best of my recollection. Suppose you ask for it, *demand* it, and await the result.

THIRD SESSION, DECEMBER 27.

President Hart called to order the third regular session December 27, at 9.30 a. m.

11. "The physical characteristics of Dante's landscapes."
By Professor Oscar L. Kuhns, of Wesleyan University.

Professor A. N. van Daell made the following report:

At a committee-meeting of the Faculties of Paris, at which he was present by invitation, it was determined to recommend to the French Government methods for rendering the French Universities more accessible to foreign students, special mention being made of Americans. It was thought to revive the old degrees of *Maitre ès Arts* and *Maitre ès Sciences*, which, being purely University degrees and not conferring any State License, would be accessible to foreigners, and lead to the Doctorate.

Professor van Daell then offered the following resolution, to be transmitted to Professor Michael Bréal, of Paris.

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America hereby expresses its hearty approval of the action of the Faculties of Paris in the effort to render the French Universities more accessible to foreigners.

Professor John B. Henneman, of the University of Tennessee offered the following resolution:

Whereas, Since the last annual meeting of this Association death has removed Professor Julius Zupitza (of the University of Berlin), an Honorary Member of this Association and an honored personal friend of many of its members,

Be it Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America hereby expresses and makes record of its appreciation of Professor Julius Zupitza's services to English scholarship, and laments the loss that in his death the cause of English Philology has sustained.

12. "The Significance of Pastoral Literature." By Dr. Homer Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The subject of this paper was discussed by Professors A. P. Marsh and Henry H. Hay.

13. "A Study of the Poetry of John Donne." By Professor M. G. Brumbaugh, of Juniata College.

[This paper was not read, its author's attendance being unavoidably prevented.]

14. "The *Seege of Troye*, a Middle English Romance." By Professor C. H. A. Wager, of Center College.

Remarks upon the subject of this paper were made by Professors G. L. Kittredge, B. W. Wells, and A. Gudeman.

15. "John Wesley's translations of German Hymns." By Professor James T. Hatfield, of the Northwestern University.

This paper was discussed by Professor Henry Wood.

16. "The Comparative Study of Literature." By Professor Arthur P. Marsh, of Harvard University.

This paper was discussed by Professors A. Cohn and J. M. Hart.

17. "The Relation of Wulfila's Alphabet to the Gothic Futhork." By Professor George A. Hench, of the University of Michigan. [Read by title.]

Professor Albert S. Cook offered a motion that a committee be appointed to recommend means for supplying assistance to the Secretary of the Association. The following committee

was accordingly appointed: Professors Albert S. Cook (*Chairman*), H. A. Todd, A. Gudeman.

FOURTH SESSION.

The President of the Association called the fourth regular session to order at 2.30 p. m., December 27.

18. "The Etymology of Provençal *estra* and Old French *estre*." By Professor H. R. Lang, of Yale University.

Professor H. A. Todd offered a discussion of this paper.

19. "The Chansons of La Chièvre, French Poet of the Twelfth Century." By Mr. A. B. Simonds, of Columbia University.

[The author was absent, and the paper was not read.]

The Committee appointed to consider the communication from the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference, reported as follows:

We beg to recommend that the Secretary of this Association be instructed to communicate the following propositions to the Central Modern Language Conference, as a plan of association between the Modern Language Association of America and the Central Modern Language Conference, in reply to the letter from the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference.

1. The Central Modern Language Conference shall be a branch of the Modern Language Association of America. All persons elected members of the Central Modern Language Conference shall be *ipso facto* members of the Modern Language Association of America.

2. All membership and other fees shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association of America. The Treasurer of the Central Modern Language Conference shall have authority to draw upon the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association of America for the running expenses of the Central Modern Language Conference.

3. The Central Modern Language Conference shall elect its own officers. It shall have control over its own meetings and all other matters not

pertaining to the general organization and interests of the Modern Language Association of America.

4. The *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* shall, as heretofore, be edited by the Secretary, with the assistance of an Editorial Committee of two, one of whom shall be the Secretary of the Central Modern Language Conference.

We also recommend that the present committee be increased by the addition of Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago, and that the committee of four thus constituted be authorized to receive and act upon any reply to the propositions herewith submitted that may be received from the Central Modern Language Conference.

George Lyman Kittredge, *Chairman*.
James Morgan Hart,
James W. Bright.

This report was adopted.

20. "Richardson and Rousseau." By Professor Benj. W. Wells, of the University of the South.

This paper was discussed by Professors A. Cohn and Henry Wood.

Professor Francis A. March was called to the President's chair.

21. "A Study of the Nature of Rhythm." By Miss M. A. Harris, of Yale University.

If we consider rhythm as a form or manifestation of the most fundamental activities of the mind, we shall be aided by a mass of data already accumulated concerning the rhythm of mental action, the periodicity of the power of attention, and the co-ordinating grasp which seizes the one in the many; or, should we consider it as to its close physical dependencies, previous investigators will point us to the salient rhythms of the body, particularly to the rhythm of the breath, and to the probability that these have fixed our ideas of rhythm in general, and in particular have determined the conditions of our language rhythms. It is the purpose of the present paper to use these two views severally in testing certain indications respecting the direction of practical work in the further investigation of language rhythm.

The rise and fall of the breath is possibly the first rhythm man notices; its earliest recognition may be the starting point of an appreciation com-

mon to men, and its rhythmic sequences in later life will continue to be an ever present standard of measurement and comparison. Further, we may perhaps take it for granted that man's first long communication to his fellows will be upon an emotion, that it will naturally clothe itself in rhythm, and that this expression may record not only the thought, but also its physical accompaniment and consequence, an unusual breathing,—hurried, retarded, strong or weak, labored or held, or all in succession.

This physical manifestation of excitement is doubtless different in different states of civilization, and preferred rhythms of literature will become more complicated as man's emotions become less simple. Yet of the perfect poem it will always be true that it will not only tell us in words what the author felt, but, by virtue of its rhythm, it will also reproduce in a sympathetic reader the thoughts' physical sign, the same alteration of the breath which it caused in the writer.

By means of this double induction the imagination is excited to a recreation of the original passion, and the poem is treasured as a spell that can move the whole man. As such poems accumulate, men will attempt by dissecting them to obtain the charm of the form and, by classifying and systematizing, will find certain common laws; these are accumulated in treatises upon meter and versification, and an impression is given that by reproducing certain felicitous forms one approximates to poetry.

Here we come to the distinction between the rhythm of nature and the art of a set meter. "Rhythm," says one definition, "is movement characterized by regular or harmonious recurrence of stress" which, "when definitely measured by feet and lines of a given length, becomes meter." By a consideration of such definitions we are shown the true nature of the meter imposed upon the poet. It is the attempt to put the breath in harness, to make it repeat indefinitely a rhythm that once pleased, not only to measure but to fix it. Now while fixed and measured breathings or rhythms have a pleasing and soothing influence in themselves, we cannot believe that that poetry which is the record of rapidly changing emotion can long accommodate itself to a fixed form of rhythm—that is, to meter.

Something of this kind must have been in the mind of Poe when he denied the existence of a long poem, maintaining that there are only moments of poetry in a mass of verse that is unpoetical. The facts of the case seem to sustain this view, since in verses of emotion, even the best and the shortest, there are likely to be awkward and prosaic stanzas in which the jar between emotion and form is felt, or from which the emotion has altogether vanished. We infer therefore that the ideas which a set meter is best suited to record are those sometimes called the tranquil emotions, peace, trust, tenderness, resignation,—the emotions of tranquil breathing, not the passions.

Resting upon such convictions we hold rhythm to be an inseparable adjunct of poetry, and meter a separable adjunct. Words must succeed each other musically but they need not succeed each other in set fashion, or in

lines of fixed length; while a balance of time and a responsiveness of cadence are necessary to the musical effect which is one of the accompaniments of poetic speech, a balance and a cadence remaining practically unchanged through the expression of quickly changing emotion is, for the reasons given, unnatural if not impossible, and its attempt is pleasing only in proportion as the thought of the poet is replaced for us by his music.

Now, leaving the view which inclines us to the study of language rhythm in its immediate physical relations, let us turn to the consideration of it from that point which assumes that our notions of rhythm in general take their rise from the form or manifestation of the most fundamental activities of the mind.

A spontaneous effort of the attention—or with Wundt “a wave of apperception”—endures a second or more. Each strain of attention is followed by relief—one attends and relaxes attention. This is the rhythm in the attention to which reference was made above. The view taken is that only one undivided state of consciousness may arise during each pulse or wave of attention, and that the number of objects which can be grasped in that state must form an organic unity. Mr. Bolton after recording a number of tests made at Clark University concludes that¹ “a given number of auditory impressions within certain time limits, when presented in such a way that there is a kind of subordination among them with respect either to time, intensity, pitch or quality, or with respect to any two or more of these properties, always stands as a unit in consciousness.” It follows then that rhythm can arise only when in the succeeding units the mind recognizes a certain parallelism in the subordination of parts—a particular order or law, which dominates the structure of each member of a series of units; but this order may be found in sequences of subordinations that may arise with respect either to time, intensity, pitch or quality, or with respect to any two or more of these properties; it may therefore be based upon a very simple or upon a very complex unit structure, only there must be an inner theme, a minor motion, which shall present itself easily as a unit to the mind in its apperceptive moment and must bear such a relation to the following motions or variations of the theme, that it with them may be coördinated and pass into the structure of a higher and more complex unity.

It is clear that the power of perceiving rhythm ceases as soon as the mind loses its grasp upon the details, and can no longer find an underlying unity in the manifold variety.

On the other hand the power to see wholes, the coördinating, or carrying power of the mind is a growth, and varies in diverse states of civilization or development, even though it be one of the first requisites to mental action of the simplest kind.

In the application of these facts to poetic rhythm, an analogy is useful. In music we find primitive taste confined to simple sequences, a single tone

¹*Am. Journal of Psychology.* Vol. VI.

repeated in beats of 2-4 time seems to give real pleasure, not only to savages and children, but to many a person whose faculties in other respects are far from rudimentary. Musicians, however, not only demand further complexity for their fullest satisfaction, but have lately gone so far as to profess a taste offended by pronounced rhythms, and gratified by the veiled sequences of the German music, which is still caviar to the general.

Returning to language rhythm, we shall find in the simple succession of stressed and unstressed syllables a rhythm recognized and enjoyed by very young children—a higher coördinating power is necessary for the enjoyment of verse based on assonance and balanced verse sections, such, for instance, as are found in Old English poetry; a still further coördination is that which finds in the English poetry of a later time still, unity in the complexity of the stanzas which the Elizabethans moulded on classic forms. Yet from this we have progressed further to the enjoyment of a rhythm still more involved, which introduces substituted feet and run-on-lines. In Shakespeare's later writings these substitutions and run-on-lines are so numerous that he practically escapes altogether from the limits of meter into a free and unclassified rhythm, which is, however, in such perfect accord with the thought—so fused and welded with it—that to read the rhythm falsely is to prove that one has missed the thought; this is true, also, of certain of the finest passages of Milton, and of Browning, and in some rare instances of exaltation it is true of Tennyson also. Under stress of a dominating thought or inspiration their verse becomes rhythmic prose.

Taken as a whole these phenomena show that as poetic thought becomes more complex, it has refused to find its abiding place in the forms imposed upon English verse by the Latin Renaissance, no less than in those which sufficed in the eighth century; and that it tends to leave the recognized field of meter for the larger measures of an unexplored rhythm.

So whether we advance through the consideration of the physical relations of rhythm to breath, or through the more abstruse consideration of the coördinating power of the mind dealing with phenomena presented to it in its pulses of attention, we find ourselves drawn to the same conclusion. In either case the escape from the forms known as metrical into a more complex rhythm seems not only reasonable but inevitable, and we are forced to believe that the future advance of rhythmic literature is likely to be along the lines of further complexity; since no one would be so bold as to affirm that we have already recognized the possible unity in complexity which may arise through "subordinations either in respect to time, intensity, pitch, or quality, or in respect to any two or more of these properties."

But for the present;—if the increasing complexity of emotion and the advance in coördinating power has already developed a poetic taste which finds satisfaction in the sequences vaguely named as the rhythm of impassioned prose, would it not be well frankly to admit that our present nomenclature is inexact and misleading, that to call that prose which gives us our highest poetic satisfaction, and that poetry which is in fact but the

form of a past glory, is to delude ourselves, and those whose opinions we influence.

Since the instinct of the poet has long ago recognized a harmony profounder than those the metrist-critics have known, why should we of the laity continue to explain away and ignore the presence of a higher law in the music we have not yet been able adequately to measure by any rule of thumb? Should we not rather turn to the serious study of the rhythm that speaks in impassioned prose, and seek to discover the subtle laws, which in the ears of our great masters have so transcended the ones discovered by our metrists, laws which must reveal a variety in unity much more complex than those now understood, and show us the short and simple sound theme replaced by one of greater length and complexity, upon which the variations tend to become more and more involved as the mind attains greater coördinating power?

22. "The home of Walter von der Vogelweide." By Professor H. S. White, of Cornell University.

Remarks upon this paper were offered by Professor Henry Wood.

23. "Chaucer's development in rime-technique." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

Remarks upon this paper were offered by Professor G. L. Kittredge.

24. "A phonetic transcription of a Louisiana Folk-Lore tale." By Professor Alcée Fortier, of Tulane University. [Read by title.]

25. "Conjectural restoration of the so-called *Carmen Gothicum*." By Professor A. Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

26. "Some unpublished poems of Fernan Perez de Guzman." By Professor Hugo A. Rennert, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

President and Mrs. Timothy Dwight gave a reception at their home, 126 College Street, to the ladies and gentlemen of the Association, Friday evening, December 27th.

FIFTH SESSION, DECEMBER 28.

The fifth regular session was called to order Saturday, December 28th, at 9.30 a. m.

27. "The Italian *novella*." By Dr. Mary Augusta Scott, of Baltimore, Md.

When we compare the *novella* with the corresponding form of fiction in English, the novel, we are at once struck by the fact that historically, for us, the romantic drama lies between. The *novella* precedes the drama and the novel follows it. The English novel, from Richardson to Mrs. Humphry Ward, implies the previous existence of the English drama; for elaboration of motive and development of character, it has no other counterpart. The *novella*, on the other hand, is a drama in *decimo sesto*; it is short, sketchy, concentrated; it does not, even collectively, aim at giving a well-rounded picture of life and manners, and individually, it has little or no personality; very often it is no more than a *bon mot* or repartee, and the novelist, like Poggio or Sacchetti, is but a raconteur.

The origin of the *novella* in mere anecdote, together with the natural objectivity of the Italian mind, explains one of its most striking characteristics, its air of reality. All the novelists pretend that their tales were originally recited and then written down, and there can hardly be a doubt but that they were really read aloud, or improvised, on occasions similar to those invented by Boccaccio, Grazzini, and others. The fact that the popular *novella* attained a permanent literary value only in Italy, the importance of a corresponding form of the Italian drama, the improvisations of the *commedie dell' arte*, and the high cultivation of acting in Italy, an art in which the Italians have always excelled, all go to prove that the *novelliere* was what he claimed to be, literally a story-teller.

Recitation in its turn affected the style of the *novella*; a short story that is told must have point, focus. So the *novelliere* introduces his characters simply by name, and very often even names are superfluous; of the six characters in Giraldi's story of Othello, only one, Disdemonia, has a name. The environment is of the baldest kind, and the whole force of the narrative is expended on the action, which is always consistent, the most natural outcome of the circumstances. But of explanation of motives, of development of character, of ethical intention, as in the drama and novel, the *novella* has none.

In spite, however, of a pleasing style and an interesting picture of manners, in spite of great variety of incident and an extraordinary ingenuity of plot, the novelists with one accord are exceedingly poverty-stricken in choice of subject. The two main subjects are love and jests, as if life were one grand game of fooling. In humorous fooling, ranging all the way from wit to farce, the *novella* is very rich. Poggio's *Facetiae* are extremely witty comments on people and things, betraying the keenest observation and the most startling insight. A favorite type of humor is the vulgar, practical joke, which often degenerates into the broadest farce. Usually a sort of continuity is given to a collection of tales by one or two buffoons who turn up here and there throughout, like the clown and pantaloone of the early Italian comedy. Bruno and Buffalmacco are Boccaccio's jesters, and Calandrino their butt, while three boon companions, Lo Scheggia, Il Monaco, and Il Pilucca, are the heroes of the comedy in Il Lasca's *Suppers*.

Love in the *novella* is not the spiritual passion of Guido Guinicelli and Dante; it is love as we see it depicted in the poetry of the Troubadours, or rather that fantastic sentiment as it was understood by the cultivated, pleasure-loving Italians of the Renaissance. It is love in which refinement, brutality, and cruelty are strangely mixed, love full of romantic nonsense, of scholastic discussions, of sensuous enjoyment. Passion does not enter into this conception of love, nor duty, nor work, nor responsibility, nor the thousand quiet needs that come by sun and candlelight when Adam and Eve undertake to keep house together in Paradise. There is a gay, insouciant shunning of all that is serious and moral in the lives of men and women. Life is too amusing to be serious, too sentimental, too piquant, too full of trifling incidents and gossip and chat. It is an idle world, a world of talk.

An Elizabethan translator of more than ordinary interest was Sir Thomas North, who rendered into his inimitable prose the *Morall Philosophie of Doni*. In the preface of Doni's book of dialogues, *I Marmi*, he represents himself flying aloft, hovering over the marble steps of the piazza Santa Liberata, in Florence, listening to the talk of the young men who resort there in the cool of the evening.—“And for as much as they are all fine wits and comely, they have a thousand lovely things to say—novels, stratagems, and fables; they tell of intrigues, stories, jokes, tricks played off on men and women—all things sprightly, noble, noteworthy, and fit for gentle ears.”

The morale of the *novella* cannot be better presented than in this picture. Apart from the consideration of causes, a bare statement of fact is, that the *novella* is the literary form in which the spirit of the Renaissance expressed itself most naturally and most freely, and that that spirit was gay, unreflective, optimistic and frankly sensuous. A little Elizabethan snatch, so wild that it almost takes your breath away, is born right out of it and voices it exactly:—

Hey, nonny no!
 Men are fools that wish to die!
 Is't not fine to dance and sing
 When the bells of death do ring?
 Is't not fine to swim in wine
 And turn upon toe
 And sing, hey, nonny no,
 When the winds blow, and the seas flow?
 Hey, nonny no!

It is the fashion to call the morality of the Renaissance 'paganism,' a view which does considerable injustice to the pagans. I think they are nearer the truth who describe it as a return to nature; it is a revolt from mediæval ascetism and ecclesiastical hypocrisy, which finds its boldest expression in the *Decameron*. How wide the divergence had become between profession and conduct, between temperamental optimism and the actual conditions of life, may be seen from such a work as Valla's *De Voluptate*, which is a disputation between naturalism and humanism on the one side, and the mediæval scheme of ethics on the other. Valla gives the argument to the church, but naturalism carries the day; just so, all the great Italians of the Renaissance are freethinkers without ceasing to be Catholics. Pulci, like a street singer, opens each canto of the *Morgante Maggiore* with an invocation to the madonna or a paraphrase of a collect; in like manner, not a few *novelle* are introduced with prayers or moral reflections utterly at variance with the story that follows.

In order to be just to the *novellieri*, we must first free our minds of the notion that they aim to instruct; they do sometimes point a moral, and they are almost sure to adorn their tales, but they are didactic never. To one who feels the long tragedy of Italian history, it is pathetic to note how the novelists one and all turn away from civil strife and pestilence, and wretched social conditions, to seek comfort in the things of mind. Sacchetti's little preface reads like a litany, with a difference, for in the midst of 'battle, murder, and sudden death,' he thinks of 'that excellent Florentine poet, Messer Giovanni Boccaccio,' and his care-killing tales. And then, in a few lines, with admirable brevity of expression, Sacchetti states the purpose of the *novella*, and it is not ethical at all, it is amusement, *joie et soulas*.

One of the charms of the *Decameron* is the description of natural scenery which serves to introduce and connect the days. Indeed, the beautiful setting of the hundred tales must have added greatly to their popularity, not only with the Florentines, for whom the work was thus cast in the glamour of a familiar and lovely landscape, but with the Italians, who have inherited from classic times a love of the country and of country pleasures and sports. Many *novelle* are idylle, and not infrequently a tale that offends all modern canons of taste is yet exquisitely set. The master emotion that

is acting may be a proper subject of criticism, but the feeling for nature is pure and genuine. It is not a spiritual sympathy with nature, such as we have come to know from our later English poets, nor has it anything of what Ruskin calls "the pathetic fallacy," that way of looking at nature which considers it dyed in the human emotions of which it is the mute witness. Rather, it is Chaucerian, a joyous, buoyant delight in out-of-doors, in the green of summer, in running water, in birds and flowers and sunshine. Fancy Chaucer made classical and you have Boccaccio's or Sermini's treatment of nature. The fair weather aspect of nature in the *novella* is emphasized by the fact that the scene of the tales is often in a villa garden. Straparola's *Nights* gets its name from his fiction of the tales being told in the open of the Italian summer nights. With the Italians, something of their gaiety and naiveté of temperament seems to enter into the conception of nature, and they prefer to think of her as always kind. Boiardo's fawn is so sensitive to natural influences that he weeps when the sky is fair, because he fears bad weather, and laughs in the rain storms, because he knows the sun will shine again.

But the *novelliero* is no philosopher withal, his view of life is entirely on the surface of things. Although he has abundant curiosity and an acute faculty of observation, he makes no study of motives. He creates Iago malignant and Portia bright and resourceful, but what these qualities have to do with the tragedy of the one, or the happy romance of the other, the novelist does not in the least concern himself with. It is just this poverty of intellectual content, associated with extraordinary diversity of incident, that rendered the *novelle* such a mine of wealth to the Elizabethan dramatists. They furnished the outlines of plays which the poet could fill in at his pleasure.

An interesting description of the essentially dramatic character of the *novella* is that of Federico de Roberto, the author of *L'illusione* and *Ermanno Raeti*. It is in the preface to his little book of short stories called *Processi Verbali*, and is well worth note as the view of a modern Italian novelist on a literary form in which Italy and France have so far outstript other nations.—"*Processo Verbale*," says de Roberto, "means in common parlance a simple, rapid and faithful relation of an event taking place under the eyes of a disinterested spectator. I call *Processi Verbali* tales that are the naked and impersonal transcriptions of little comedies, of little dramas, taken from the life (*colti sul vivo*)."

Then he goes on to lay down the sound artistic principle that a storyteller should be impersonal, he should keep himself well in the background, he should obtrude no descriptions, no reflections, no analyses of mental states, at best but more or less happy hypotheses—he should do nothing, in short, but let his personages speak and act for themselves. A short story is a little drama, a series of lively dialogues, with just enough description as stage direction to keep the whole moving.

I do not know a better analysis of the freshness and crispness and lifelikeness of the *novella*.



The report of the Committee appointed to nominate officers was received, and the following officers were elected for the year 1896.

President : Calvin Thomas, University of Michigan.
Secretary : James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.
Treasurer : Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

Henry Johnson, Bowdoin College.
C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University.
Hugo A. Rennert, University of Pennsylvania.
Albert H. Tolman, University of Chicago.
Charles Harris, Adelbert College.
John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University.
Alcée Fortier, Tulane University.
W. S. Currell, Washington and Lee University.
Charles H. Ross, Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Phonetic Section.

President : A. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.
Secretary : George Hempl, University of Michigan.

Pedagogical Section.

President : C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
Secretary : James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University.

Editorial Committee.

A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University.
H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported that the accounts were found to be correct.

The Committee appointed to consider means to give clerical assistance to the Secretary, recommended that the Association pay annually to the Secretary the sum of two hundred dollars.

This recommendation was accepted by a vote of the Association.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee appointed to designate place for the next annual meeting of the Association, a motion was passed unanimously in favor of Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.

Professor Albert S. Cook, first vice-president of the Association, was called to the chair.

28. "‘Das junge Deutschland’ in America." By Dr. T. S. Baker, of the Johns Hopkins University.

This paper was discussed by Professor M. D. Learned.

29. "The Sources of the Dramaturgical Ideas of Lenz." By Dr. Max Winkler, of the University of Michigan.

This paper was discussed by Professor A. Cohn.

30. "Two Parallel Studies in Sociology: a comparison of certain features in a drama by Shakespeare and one by Ibsen." By Professor C. B. Wright, of Middlebury College. [Read by title.]

The plays are *Coriolanus* and *An Enemy of the People*, and so far as surface appearance goes, two dramas could hardly be more unlike. As regards nature, the one is among the most pathetically tragic of Shakespeare's plays; the other is essentially a comedy. On the score of scene, the one transports us to the very center of old-world action—in its antique sternness and simplicity it is perhaps more genuinely heroic than is *Antony and Cleopatra* with its international theater; the setting of the other is of our own time in a little Norwegian health-resort, and amid surroundings the most prosaic. Lastly, the characters themselves, for all their essential similarity, are cast in very different moulds; we can prove from Shakespeare, as we cannot from Ibsen, that "there were giants in those days." These differences are apparent, yet, in spite of them, the plays are remarkably analogous in motive, in the *dramatis personae*, and in much of the action leading to the respective climaxes.

1. *Motive.* It is not enough to say that *Coriolanus* is a portrayal of the endless struggle between property and poverty; that is but one feature of the play and by no means the most essential. To call it a delineation of aristocracy and democracy as antagonistic social forces is to come nearer the truth, but even this is only a partial statement. The breach between Coriolanus and the people was brought about not so much through any inherent antagonism between their classes, as through a pervading absence of political sanity, an inability on the part of both patricians and plebeians to see the interests of the commonwealth "steadily and whole." Whether it be permissible or not for the artist to teach a lesson, it is certainly permissible for the students of art to be taught; and the most obvious lesson to be deduced from *Coriolanus* is fundamental and impressive—the absolute need, for political stability, of the serene and steady outlook, the broad vision, the calm and undistorted view.

The motive of *An Enemy of the People* would be practically identical were the artistic balance not weakened through the evident special pleading. Ibsen holds a brief for Doctor Stockmann; as he writes, the retainer lies before him on the desk. The Doctor is eternally right, the people eternally wrong, and the circumstances that led to the writing show us very clearly why. Now Shakespeare never indulges in special pleading; he holds a brief for no one, unless it be Henry V. *Coriolanus* does show, I think, that its author's inclinations were on the aristocratic side; not, however, for the reason commonly adduced by the critics. The hero's contempt for the populace, they tell us, and the abundant cause furnished by the exasperating unreason ascribed to them, prove it. Not at all; the balance of unreason is against the patrician. It is Coriolanus who stands condemned rather than the people; condemned, though, not through Shakespeare's hostility, but through his love; tried and found wanting by the stern standard of *noblesse oblige*.

2. *Dramatis personae.* In a brief outline one can do hardly more than set over against each other the character counterparts in the two plays. The table is as follows:

Coriolanus.....	Doctor Stockmann.
Virgilia.....	Mrs. Stockmann.
Volumnia.....	Petra.
Young Marcus.....	Eilif and Morten.
The Tribunes.....	{ Hovstad. Billing. Aslakseen.

Doctor Stockmann is a nineteenth century Coriolanus. We love them both, in a measure, for the enemies they make; each is deplorably unable to adjust himself to surroundings.

As to the women of the plays, it is dramatically correct that the mother in one and the daughter in the other should be most closely in sympathy

with the hero; each time it is in accordance with hereditary law. It is to be noted, too, that Petra shares with her father the indiscriminating affection of their creator. Mrs. Stockmann, on the other hand, gets more than she perhaps deserves of the wholesale Ibsen contempt. He has temporary relentings, but to all intents and purposes she is one of the people, and Ibsen is running amuck.

The tribune demagogues are fully matched in the printers of the Norwegian drama, while the populace, fickle, brainless, swayed by the cajolery of their unscrupulous masters, are the same contemptible creatures whether in trousers or in togas.

One looks in vain for a counterpart to Menenius. Captain Horster, perhaps, comes nearest. The similarity, however, lies wholly in his relation to the hero and not at all in personal characteristics. And small wonder; Shakespeare himself has rarely drawn the equal of the old patrician, while Horster is at best but little more than a lay figure—a helpful wheel in the machinery of the actions.

A single word should be added in this connection. The finding of surface counterparts in plays of different ages would not of necessity be noteworthy; if the plays are built on conventional, classic lines, it could hardly happen otherwise. Neither of these plays, though, is conventional, and the likenesses here pointed out are general rather than detailed—a proof that each play is an outgrowth of a common philosophy of life.

3. *Action.* There is space to indicate but one similarity, yet a comparative study of the plays will show how vital a detail it is and how intimately connected with the climax of the actions. The Tribunes (*Coriolanus*, Act III, Sc. 3) and the newspaper men (*An Enemy of the People*, Act IV) seem almost to have compared notes. Their policies are identical: the crafty baiting of a victim too hot-headed for prudent self-restraint.

31. "*Troilus and Criseyde*: a study of Chaucer's method of narrative construction." By Professor Thomas R. Price, of Columbia University.

This paper was discussed by Professor James W. Bright.

32. "Some features of Chaucer's verse, especially stress and hiatus." By Professor Morton W. Easton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper was read by Dr. Homer Smith; it was discussed by Professors George Hempl and James W. Bright.

This paper, mainly statistical in content, discussed the lines in the form of the line in the *Prologue*, 170,

Ginglen in a whistling wind as clere,

and lines of similar metrical character. It closed with a discussion of hiatus, also statistical, in which the author attempted to show that the percentages in the poems of Chaucer are such as to show at least a partial avoidance of this feature.

As the paper is to be published, further analysis is omitted here.

33. "Fiction as a College study." By Professor Bliss Perry, of Princeton University.

SIXTH SESSION.

The sixth regular session of the meeting was convened at 3 p. m., December 28th.

34. "Overlapping and multiple indications." By Professor Andrew Ingraham, of the Swain Free School.

Two sound-series overlap each other when the meaning of the one is suggested by or implied in the meaning of the other. When the expressions overlap, the idea has multiple indications. The philosopher and the scientist avoid overlapping and multiple indications; the orator and the poet seek them. The ground of these manifestations is found in the intimate connection of our thoughts. The connection may be universal and permanent, or local and transitory. In Elementary Geometry, for instance, the subject and the predicate of any proposition about parallels overlap in their meanings, and geometers have preferred to retain ambiguous terms rather than to enlarge their vocabulary.

In the pun, the allegory, the metaphor, etc., two or more distinct realms of thought are put before the mind at once. Few utterances are without a multiplicity of significations, though serious persons attend to one only, nor find it worth the while to learn what other meanings a sentence may have outside their own province. Even $ab + c = d$ has one signification for the arithmetician, another for the logician, and a third for the vector-analyst,—a triplicate pun which moves like Spenser's *Fairy Queen* over three different regions of the mind. In overlapping we have the reverse of this, many different series of sounds tending to awaken the same thought. *Fish, swim* and *sea* overlap one another in "Fishes swim in the sea." A fuller representation of the meaning of the one word leads to the meaning, or rather to some implication of the meaning of the others. *Birds* is a word which, in the minds of many unintelligent persons, overlaps much that poets have said about birds hitherto. "Birds fly through the air" merely repeats what is vaguely present to him who hears any one of the three principal words in the sentence. "The ear hears the sound" and "The ball hits the fence" are run in the same grammatical mould; but the presence of intricate over-

lappings in the former and their absence from the latter show that even the language of science may emphasize trivial aspects, and that *transitive* and *direct object* have little meaning, though they may be useful in formulating rules for the guidance of beginners in the study of language. Their attention might profitably be directed to the meanings associated with the meanings of words. Their grammar, their dictionaries, their "synonyms" even, their rhetoric perhaps, and, one may add, their teachers leave them without this introduction to semasiology, this clue to the transitions in the signification of sounds and signs.

Multiple indications are to be contrasted with non-indications, misindications, and inconsistent indications,—nonsense, the oxymoron, the paradox, the bull, and many expressions of deep emotions or wide generalizations. Instances abound, as—"This garrulity of advising is born with us;" "While Ireland was silent under her misfortunes, England was deaf to her cries;" "Four-dimensional space;" "Chlorine oxidation;" "And Christ's face on the Cross sees only this after the passion of a thousand years."

Multiple indications that result from overlapping must be distinguished from those which result from exact coincidences in the meaning of different parts of a sentence, though these may have been overlappings originally. *Τὰ πᾶσι ἀποτέρω παρήσσην* expresses six times the fact that the boys were two; not, however, as the result of any discernible overlapping. Even the tersest expressions of highly civilized people exhibit this multiplicity of indication. "The three boys are here" contains a triple indication of plurality; "He strikes me," a double indication of the object relation. Nor is mere tautology an instance of overlapping, though pleonasm and verbiage may be. They all come under multiple indications.

Faber writes, "On earth's green fields and ocean's wave-beat shore." Here *earth* and *fields* overlap; and so do *ocean*, *wave* and *shore*. "The day must dawn and darksome night be passed;" "The last faint pulse of quivering light;" "Her writhen limbs were wrung;" "For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn," may serve as examples. In the last, *hearth* and *burn* overlap; so do *hearth* and *blaze*.

Better names will be found and a better exposition given; but *overlapping* will not, I trust, be considered two unimportant a relation between significant sounds to deserve more than a name and an exposition.

This paper was discussed by Professor Herbert E. Greene.

35. "The place of Schleiermacher and Fichte in the development of German romanticism." By Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University.

36. "Hübsche Historie von einem Ritter wie er büsset: a manuscript of the fifteenth century." By Mr. F. G. G. Schmidt, of the Johns Hopkins University.

37. "Notes on the use of cases after certain prepositions in Anglo-Saxon (Alfred, Ælfric, and the *Chronicle*)." By Dr. H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri. [Read by title.]

38. "W in Old Norse." By Dr. P. Groth, of Brooklyn, N. Y. [Read by title.]

Professor O. F. Emerson offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote of the Association.

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, in convention assembled, expresses hereby its hearty thanks to the Modern Language Club of Yale University, to President and Mrs. Timothy Dwight and the Officers of Yale University, to the Graduate Club of Yale University, and to the Local Committee, for the kind, the hospitable and the efficient entertainment which has made this one of the most pleasant and successful meetings in the history of the Association.

The Association adjourned at 5 o'clock p. m.

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 de Poyen-Bellisle, Dr. René, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Price, Prof. Thomas R., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [263 W.
 45th St.]
 Primer, Prof. Sylvester, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
 Prince, Prof. J. D., New York University, New York, N. Y.
 Putzker, Prof. Albin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

- Rambeau, Prof. A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Ramsay, Prof. M. M., Columbian University, Washington, D. C.
 Reeves, Prof. Chas. F., University of Washington, Seattle. [Columbia, Washington.]
 Reeves, Dr. W. P., Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
 Rennert, Prof. H. A., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rhoades, Prof. L. A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Rice, Prof. H. M., English and Classical School, 63 Snow St., Providence, R. I.
 Rice, Prof. J. C., Cheltenham Academy, Ogontz, Montgomery Co., Pa.
 Richardson, Prof. H. B., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
 Ringer, Prof. S., Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.
 Robertson, Miss Luanna, Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.
 Ross, Prof. Charles H., Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.
 de Rougemont, Prof. A., 160 W. 120th St. New York, N. Y.
 Rowland, Miss Amy F., 43 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y.
 Roy, Prof. James, Niagara Falls, Station A, N. Y.
- Sampson, Prof. M. W., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
 Saunders, Mrs. M. J. T., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.
 Saunderson, Prof. G. W., Madison, Wisc. [263 Longden St.]
 Scarborough, Mrs. S. B., Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.
 Schelling, Prof. F. E., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schilling, Prof. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Schmidt, Dr. F. G. G., Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
 Schmidt-Wartenberg, Prof. H., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Schmitz, Mr. H. J., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Schofield, Dr. W. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Schoenfeld, Prof. H., Columbian University, Washington, D. C.
 Schrakamp, Miss Josepha, 67 W. 38th St., New York, N. Y.
 Scott, Dr. C. P. G., 708 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Scott, Prof. F. N., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Scott, Dr. Mary Augusta, 1507 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
 Sechrist, Prof. F. K., Central State Normal School, Lock Haven, Pa.
 Segall, Mr. Jacob, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
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 Severy, Prof. E. E., Southwestern Virginia Institute, Bristol, Va.-Tenn.
 Seward, Prof. O. P., 632 Lillie St., Elgin, Ill.
 Seybold, Prof. C. F., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Sharp, Prof. R., Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
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 Smith, Prof. Kirby F., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Snow, Prof. Wm. B., English High School, Montgomery St., Boston, Mass.
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 Spieker, Prof. E. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Spiers, Prof. J. H. B., Wayne, Pa.
 Spofford, Hon. A. R., Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.
 van Steenderen, Prof. F. C. L., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
 Stoddard, F. H., New York University, N. Y. [27 W. 11th St.]
 Stratton, Dr. A. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Straub, Prof. John, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
 Super, Prof. O. B., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
 Sweet, Miss Marguerite, Stephentown, N. Y. [Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.]
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 Sykes, Prof. Fred. H., Western University, London, Ont., Canada.
- Taliaferro, Mrs. E. F., Montgomery Female College, Christiansburg, Va.
 Taylor, Mr. Robert L., 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn.
 Thomas, Prof. Calvin, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Thomas, Miss May, 810 University Avenue, Madison, Wisc.
 Thomas, President M. Carey, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Thurber, Mr. Edward, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Thurber, Prof. S., 13 Westminster Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.
 Todd, Prof. H. A., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [720 West End Avenue].
 Tolman, Prof. A. H., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Toy, Prof. W. D., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Triggs, Dr. Oscar L., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Tufts, Prof. J. A., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
 Tupper, Jr., Prof. Fred., University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
 Tupper, Dr. Jas. W., 111 S. Fifteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Turk, Prof. Milton H., Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
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 Vogel, Prof. Frank, Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [120 Pembroke St.]

Vos, Dr. Bert John, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Voss, Dr. Ernst, 33 S. Ingalls, Ann Arbor, Mich.

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Weaver, Prof. G. E. H., 203 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
Weeks, Mr. L. F., 5700 Jackson Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Weeks, Prof. Raymond, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Wells, Prof. B. W., University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
Wenckebach, Miss Carla, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Werner, Prof. A., College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
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White, Prof. H. S., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Whiteford, Dr. Robert N., High School, Peoria, Ill.
Whitlock, Mr. George, 10 E. Lexington St., Baltimore, Md.
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Wightman, Prof. J. R., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
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Wood, Mr. Francis A., 452 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Wood, Prof. Henry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Woodward, Dr. B. D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
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Wylie, Miss Laura J., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

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L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont.
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CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

*Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention,
December 30, 1886 :*

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication ; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

APPENDIX II.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL.,
DECEMBER 30, 31, 1895,
AND JANUARY 1, 1896.



THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIA- TION OF AMERICA.

The first annual meeting of the CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE (afterwards named The Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America) was held at the University of Chicago, December 30, 31, 1895, and January 1, 1896.

FIRST SESSION.

The first session was convened Monday, December 30, at 7.30 p. m. Professor F. A. Blackburn called the meeting to order and introduced Dean H. P. Judson, who, in the absence of the President of the University of Chicago, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the University.

The President of the Conference, Professor W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas, then delivered an address. He surveyed the main aspects of the development of instruction in Modern Languages in the Central States, basing his statements on carefully collected statistics. He then outlined the work which the Conference had to perform.

After the meeting the University of Chicago received the delegates in Cobb Hall.

SECOND SESSION.

The second session was called to order December 31, at 8.45 a. m., by President W. H. Carruth.

Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg submitted a report as Secretary of the Conference.

After introductory remarks he continued as follows: I cannot attempt to outline the history of Modern Language study and teaching in the United States. It will suffice to mention the main event in that history: the founding of the Modern Language Association of America. During the past twelve years this Association has done more than any other agency to elevate our profession, and to bring the study of Modern Languages into full academic recognition, by basing it on sound pedagogical principles and by stimulating scientific research. From the Modern Language Association of America have sprung the American Dialect Society and the smaller associations in the different States; from it has emanated the spirit that has shown its activity wherever the question of Modern Language study has been seriously discussed.

The evident fact that the immense territory of the United States makes a direct influence through active participation of all members in the meetings of the Modern Language Association of America a physical impossibility, excludes *a priori* the intimation of sectional feeling in those States that are geographically too far removed from the Eastern centers of learning. Representatives of those States are now here assembled to establish permanently a Modern Language Association that is to carry out the ideas of the older Association within a new territory.

For some time past the feasibility of taking such a step had been discussed in the Central States; but these occasional expressions remained more or less private until the publication of the following circular letter:

Dear Sir:—

We have discovered by occasional correspondence that several Modern Language instructors in the West feel themselves practically shut out of the Modern Language Association of America, by the barriers of distance and expense. What would you think of the advisability of forming a Mississippi Valley, or Western Modern Language Association (not at all as antagonistic to the M. L. A.), with the instructors in the State Universities as nucleus, to meet in Chicago, Bloomington, Indiana, St. Louis, or perhaps at the seats of the institutions represented? If the replies to this are generally favorable, a provisional committee will be asked to meet in June and prepare a call for a first meeting. If you approve of the plan please suggest five names for such a committee.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON,
State University of Iowa.

LAURENCE FOSSLER,
State University, Nebraska.

W. H. CARRUTH,
University of Kansas.

The favorable responses to this letter warranted an early meeting of the preliminary committee. The persons suggested for this committee, in the order of the number of votes received, was as follows: Professors C. B. Wilson, W. H. Carruth, L. Fossler, Calvin Thomas, F. A. Blackburn, G. E. Karsten, Starr W. Cutting, G. Hempl, W. M. Baskervill, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, A. Fortier, A. R. Hohlfeld, A. H. Tolman, W. E. Simonds, G. O. Curme, C. F. McClumpha.

The following committee on organization was selected: Professors G. Hempl, C. B. Wilson, W. M. Baskervill, L. Fossler, G. E. Karsten, W. H. Carruth, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

On Friday, June 21, the delegates convened at the Hotel Barry, Chicago, Ill., at 10.45 a. m. There were present Professors C. B. Wilson, W. H. Carruth, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler, F. A. Blackburn, J. T. Hatfield, C. W. Pearson, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. Professor W. H. Carruth was chosen chairman, and Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg was chosen secretary of the meeting. A vote of thanks was extended to the originators of the plan. Professor C. B. Wilson gave an account of his correspondence with prospective members. Letters were read from Professors J. G. Moore (Univ. of Minn.), L. Wiener (Univ. of Mo.), D. K. Dodge (Univ. of Ill.), St. W. Cutting (Univ. of Chicago), W. H. Rosenstengel and F. Wilkins (Univ. of Wis.), Calvin Thomas (Univ. of Mich.), H. Edgren (Univ. of Nebr.), M. W. Sampson (Univ. of Ind.), A. Hohlfeld (Vanderbilt Univ.).

After some discussion the name of the association was agreed upon as the Central Modern Language Conference. In this connection the question arose as to the relation to the Modern Language Association of America. All members present expressed themselves in favor of an independent association, working in harmony with the Modern Language Association. It was agreed that the first regular meeting be held in Chicago during the Christmas holidays, on two days not conflicting with the meeting of the Modern Language Association. The selection of date was left to a committee

consisting of the president and the secretary pro tem. The following committees were appointed: Committee on Constitution, Professors Ch. B. Wilson, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler; this committee was to report in the afternoon. Committee on Arrangement: Three members to be appointed by the Secretary as chairman. The membership fee was fixed at \$2 a year. The officers of the Conference were to consist of the president, two vice-presidents, the secretary, the treasurer, and four additional members.

The following were appointed a Committee of five on Programme: Professors G. E. Karsten, G. Hempl, St. W. Cutting, W. M. Baskervill, H. Edgren. The meeting adjourned at 12.30 p. m.

The afternoon meeting which convened at 2 p. m., in Cobb Hall, University of Chicago, was attended, in addition to those present during the forenoon, by Professor Ch. Davidson (Adelbert College), Professor J. D. Bruner, Dr. O. Dahl and Dr. de Poyen (Univ. of Chicago).

The transactions conducted by the delegates were ratified. Professor G. E. Karsten suggested the desirability of joining forces with the English Conference. Professor A. Blackburn explained the aim of this newly founded society: no definite plan was adopted. The report of the Committee on Constitution was read and voted on; with certain minor changes the constitution drawn up by the Committee was voted on to be recommended to the first regular meeting of the Conference. The provisional officers and committees were requested to serve till the first annual meeting. President Harper met the members convened and made a short address. After an exchange of opinion concerning the publication of papers and of the proceedings of the new association, the meeting adjourned at 3.40 p. m. (The above is an abstract of the minutes.)

The establishment of a new society caused little surprise among Eastern scholars; in fact numerous communications

from there proved that the undertaking was pretty generally considered as an anticipated natural development, and as evidence of an increased interest in the cause represented by the Modern Language Association. To secure a clear understanding concerning our future relations with the latter association, the secretary had a personal interview with Professors J. W. Bright, A. M. Elliott, and M. D. Learned, and the information thus gained will, it is hoped, be of some value in settling our future policy, and establishing a common basis of action.

The list of membership of the Modern Language Association records about 400 names, in round numbers; this yields an annual income of \$1,200, barely sufficient to pay for the expenses of the Publications. Contributors have, therefore, been called upon to pay part of the cost for the printing of their articles, an arrangement that the Central Modern Language Conference would be obliged to adopt likewise; it might even be prudent to come to an agreement as to the share expected to be paid by our contributors. This one fact is in itself sufficient to demonstrate the impracticability of a splitting of forces without coöperation in the matter of publications, while other considerations would render a complete secession most deplorable. The secretary has, therefore, upon consultation with the secretary of the M. L. A., ventured to address the following letter to the members of the Modern Language Association.

[This letter is printed *supra*, p. v.]

Professor A. H. Tolman (University of Chicago) was appointed to represent the Conference at the meeting of the Association, held at New Haven, Conn., December 26, 27, 28.

In response to the above letter addressed by the Secretary of the Conference to the Secretary of the Association, the Association appointed a committee in accordance with the suggestion made in the letter (*vid. supra*, p. vi). The report of this Committee was presented to the Association December

27, p. m., and conveyed by Professor A. H. Tolman to the Conference where it was received and read.

This communication is printed *supra*, p. xx.

Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, as Treasurer of the Conference, submitted the following statement:

RECEIPTS.

Twenty-one membership fees.....\$42.00

EXPENDITURES.

Printing of circular letters.....\$ 8.35

Stationery and stamps..... 14.30

Clerical work..... 7.25

Total.....\$29.90

Balance on hand December 30th..... 12.10

The report was received.

The President then appointed the following committees:

1. Nomination of officers: Professors A. Gerber, G. A. Hench, J. Nollen, Dr. K. Pietsch, Mr. P. Grummann.
2. Place of meeting: Professors C. A. Smith, E. Baillot, Ch. Pearson, O. Heller, Dr. F. I. Carpenter.
3. Time of meeting: Professors E. Owen, C. Osthaus, St. W. Cutting, J. Th. Fruit, Dr. R. de Poyen.
4. Auditing Committee: Professors F. A. Blackburn and J. A. Wickersham.

The motion of Professor Blackburn to adopt the second plan proposed by the Secretary, and favored by the Committee of the Modern Language Association, was seconded. The four sections contained in the reply of the Committee of the M. L. A. were then read separately, and voted upon. Section three called forth a discussion by Professors Cutting, Karsten, Pearson, Nollen, Eggert, and the Secretary. The plan was adopted in whole. A motion was passed that the report of the Secretary be printed. Motion by Dr. von Klenze that the Committee on Organization be instructed to express to the

Committee of the Association the desire to meet in the West every third year. Seconded and carried.

A letter from Professor C. E. Fay, of Tufts College, asking for an expression of opinion on the part of the Society with regard to entrance examinations in Modern Languages, was read; a committee consisting of Professors Cutting, Tolman, Wilkins, Edgren, and Dr. Zimmermann, was appointed to take action.

The Convention then proceeded to the reading of papers.

1. "Some Features of Modern French Criticism." By Professor Edouard Baillot, of the University of Indiana.

On account of Professor Baillot's illness the reading of this paper was postponed.

2. "La Celestina. The Question of Authorship and Position in Spanish Literature." By Dr. C. A. Eggert, of Chicago, Ill.

The paper was discussed by Drs. von Klenze, Carpenter, E. Leser, and the author.

3. "Malay Words in English." By Professor R. Clyde Food, of Albion College, Mich.

The Saxon has always been more or less of a Bohemian. Adventure and commerce took him early to America, Africa, India, and the Far East, and as a result new commodities with strange names appeared in the home land, and new words and expressions of foreign life abounded. If from the Orient, these words were readily accepted; for, since the Middle Ages, the distant East had exerted a potent charm over the imagination of western Europe.

In 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, visited India, and established the dominion of Portugal over the Indian seas, from southern Africa to Siam. By 1513 this dominion had reached the East Indies and had come into open conflict with the feudal Malayan princes of Malacca. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada England hastened to compete for the trade of the Orient. In 1589 a body of English merchants petitioned Queen Elizabeth for permission to send ships to the Indies; in 1600 the East India Company was chartered, and by 1614 factories were scattered

along the Indian coast, the Malay Peninsula, and even over the islands beyond. From this time on Malay words are constantly appearing in English; they come mostly through the reports of such adventurers as Captains Barker, Lancaster and Wood; partly also by way of the Dutch who had begun trading in the Malayan islands.

Within the last fifty years there has been an increase of interest in England concerning these eastern colonies, and consequently the Malay language has received more attention than formerly.

The chief obstacles in Malay for the dictionary makers have lain in the structural peculiarities of the language. Accurate transliteration is difficult. For several centuries the Arab character has been employed with some modifications. Vowel points are not used, and in various parts of the Archipelago various vowel sounds are employed with the same consonant combinations, causing many dialectical peculiarities. For example, the word spelled *b'n-ell* has these different pronunciations: *banal*, *bentil*, *bintool*, *boontal*, *boontool*—the second and the third forms exactly the same in meaning.

The following list represents most of the words which, in one way and another, have found their way into our language. All discussion as to derivation and native use is necessarily omitted.

Amuck; from *a'm'k*, pronounced *āmo*.
 Bamboo; *b'm-bu*, *bāmboo*.
 Bankshall; *b'ng-s'l*, *bāngsäl*.
 Bantam; a proper name.
 Caddy; *ka-ti*, *kätty*.
 Cassowary; *ch'su-ar'*, *kāsüäri*.
 Catechu; *ka-chu*, *kāchoo*.
 Cockatoo; *k'k'tua*, *cockatōoh*.
 Compound; *k'm-pong*, *kāmpong*.
 Dammar; *da-m'r*, *dāmär*.
 Durian; *dur-y'n*, *doorian*.
 Duyong } ; *du-y'ng*, *dooyong*.
 Dugong }
 Gambier; *g'm-b'r*, *gāmbeer*.
 Godown; *g'd'ng*, *gādong*.
 Gong; *gong* (in Java *agong*).
 Gutta-percha; *g't'h-p'r-cha*, *getta-purcha*.
 Java; *ja'-w'*, *jāwä*.
 Junk; *j'ng*, *jonk*.
 Kris; *kr's*, *kris*.
 Malacca; *m'-la k'*, *mäläka*.
 Malay; *m'-lai-y'*, *ma-lí-yoo*.
 Mangrove; *m'ng-gi-m'ng-gi*, *māngi-māngi*.
 Mangosteen; *m'ng-g'-et'n*, *māngostän*.
 Orang-outang; *au-r'ng hu-t'n*, *oräng-hootän*.
 Paddy; *pa-di*, *pädi*.

Papua; p'-pua, *pāpōō-ah*.

Proa; prah-u, *prā-oo*.

Rattan; ro-t'n, *rolān*.

Sago; sa-g', *sāgo*.

Sapan; s'-p'ng, *sepāng*.

Sarong; sa-r'ng, *sārong*.

Doubtful etymologies:

Camphor, cinnamon, and veranda.

Remarks on this paper were made by Messrs. Eggert, P. O. Kern, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, E. Lewis, and the author.

4. "Lenau's Nature Sense." By Dr. C. von Klenze, of the University of Chicago.

As I intend publishing an extended article on this subject, a few remarks will here suffice. Lenau was born in 1802 and died in 1850, and hence lived at a time when "Weltschmerz" and "Zerrissenheit" characterized almost all literature, not only in Germany, but elsewhere. With these was generally coupled intense subjectivity. In his case this subjectivity is even more morbid than in many of his contemporaries, as his whole life was darkened by a nervous disease which, from 1844 on, developed into insanity. With his morbidity he combined altogether exceptionally fine artistic feeling. Hence, his view of nature is generally one-sided, morbid, but always artistic. Like Werther, when he becomes hopeless (cf. Werther's letter of Aug. 18th, a most helpful passage for an understanding of the modern nature sense), Lenau is in the great majority of cases struck with the decay in nature. So the primaeval forest suggests the mortality of things and decay (in "Der Urwald"), and autumn is not the season of "mellow fruitfulness" as in Keats' Ode to Autumn, but of death and decay in nature. He speaks of "Todesleiden" of nature in autumn (*Das Kreuz*), or he says "'s geht wieder an's begraben," "die Wälder sind gestorben" (*Herbstlied*), the wind in autumn is "Sterbseufzer der Natur" (*Herbstklage*)—and many other passages. But sometimes all creation seems a form of death or of grief, "überall grüsst dich Verderben In der Geschöpfe langen, dunkeln Gassen" (*Einsamkeit*), or he speaks of "Der grosse und geheime Schmerz der die Natur durchzittert" (*Der traurige Mönch*), and so forth in many other passages. Hence, dew is often interpreted as a tear of heaven, and once a ravine even as a wound of nature (*An die Alpen*). Nature almost always seems cruel to him, "Das Menschenberg hat keine Stimme Im finstern Rote der Natur" (*Aus!*), and all through the poem, *Die Zweifler*, runs the conviction that nature is a monster. Yet the beauties of nature are a keen joy to him, and he often takes refuge in nature. He longs for the ocean (*Der Maskenball* and elsewhere), speaks of the woods as a proper

place where a sore heart should take refuge (*Gefucht* and other passages), and praises especially the mountains as great consolers (*An die Alpen* and other poems, so especially *Beethovens Büste*). His *Faust* goes to the mountains, as does Byron's *Manfred*, to escape his doubts. Although Lenau vastly prefers the sad side of nature and describes sad spots with particular skill (so e. g., *Asyl*), he is not altogether blind to her bright side. Spring with its blossoms always delights him (see particularly *Frühling*). Lenau betrays his artistic tact especially by his use of nature as a background. This is true in dozens of poems and especially in his *Faust*, where the ocean and the primeval forest are constantly associated with a titanic individuality, furthermore in *Don Juan*, where the woods, steeped in sensuous beauty, are associated with the famous sensualist. Lenau is fond of light effects, particularly of effects of moonlight (cf. especially *Schifflieder*), yet he is by no means as fine an observer in that or in any other direction as the modern landscape-painters. In spite of his genuine love of nature, his knowledge of her is not very extensive and his eye is not trained for small details, as was, for instance, Goethe's (cf. *Werther*, *Das Veilchen*, *Das Blümlein Wunderschön*, etc., etc.),—the Alps, the ocean, and the forests are the main objects of his admiration. Yet his keenness of observation grew and, shortly before he became insane, began to reach an extraordinary degree of perfection (cf. his letter of Sept. 20, 1843). His correspondence, especially the letters given in Schurz's life of Lenau, and in Frankl's *Lenau und Sophie Löwenthal*, Stuttgart, 1891, is valuable for a study of the evolution of his nature-sense and the part nature played in his life.

For literature on Lenau, besides Frankl's book just mentioned, I refer to Max Koch's edition of Lenau in Kürschner's *National Literatur*, vol. I, p. xvii and p. xlix.

The paper was discussed by Professor Heller, Dr. Eggert, and the author.

President Carruth appointed the following gentlemen a Committee on Organization: Professors G. E. Karsten, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, G. L. Swiggett, Ch. B. Wilson, and W. M. Baskervill.

The following telegram was received and read to the Association: "Northwestern University invites you to hold next meeting at Evanston.—Henry Wade Rogers."

5. "Modern High German *t* for Germanic *p*." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan. The

paper had been misssent and could therefore not be presented. It will appear in *Modern Language Notes*.

The meeting adjourned at 12.10 p. m.

THIRD SESSION.

The meeting convened Tuesday afternoon at 2.10 p. m.; President Carruth in the chair. A telegram sent by the Secretary of the Modern Language Association was read: "Next meeting of the Association at Cleveland; President: Calvin Thomas."

The reading of papers was then continued.

6. "The Employment of the Foreign Language in the Class Room." By Professor Carl Osthaus, of the University of Indiana.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professors S. W. Cutting, Henry Cohn, von Klenze, Eggert, Karsten, Baillot, and the author.

7. "Shakespeare's Present Indicative *s*-Ending with Plural Subjects." By Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Louisiana.

This paper was discussed by Professors Blackburn, Eggert, E. Lewis, Bruner, Henry Cohn, Tolman, and the author.

8. "Thought and Sentence in Disagreement; Selections from Lectures on Correspondence of Thought and Sentence." By Professor Edward F. Owen, of the University of Wisconsin.

Remarks were made by Professors Karsten, C. A. Smith, Hench and Leser.

9. "On the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*." ¹ By F. H. Wilkins, of the University of Wisconsin.

¹ This paper will be published in full in the *Bulletins of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series*, vol. 1, No. 1.

A few introductory words emphasized the importance of the *Hildebrandslied*, this unique remnant of Germanic epic poetry, and explained why the author like others who have gone before offers a minute investigation of certain questions connected with the poem.

Manuscript: Following Wilhelm Grimm, scholars have generally assumed that the *Hildebrandslied* was written by two hands. A minute examination, however, reveals the fact there were five scribes: The first (α) wrote as far as 'guðhamun' included (Braunes, *Ahd. Lesebuch*, v. 5), the second (β) to uuortum incl. (v. 9), the third (γ) to quad incl. (that is to bottom of first page of the manuscript), the fourth (δ) to man (v. 41) or thereabouts, the fifth (ϵ) to the end of second page. The difference of hands becomes apparent by a close examination of certain letters as g, runic w or even the simple m or n; differences are also observed in the spacing of words and the punctuation. This division into five hands had been definitely determined, when it was found that the crossed d at the beginning of the poem are confined to scribe α , thus showing a difference of orthography where the division of hands is most likely to be overlooked. Designating our manuscript by A, the one from which it was copied by B, it becomes apparent from two reasons that B is not yet the original. The mistake -braht for brant, due to the false solving of a ligature, occurs with all five scribes; it was evidently the mistake of one scribe (B) who, when the mistake was once made, constantly repeated it. The mistake could only have occurred to B while copying from another manuscript which was probably the original (ω). In the second place the High German elements of the *Hildebrandslied* are so much of one cast that they were probably introduced by one scribe, probably B. It was assumed that B copied directly from the original, inasmuch as otherwise the traits of the original would have been destroyed to a greater extent than is actually the case.

Orthography: The orthography of our manuscript was considered to prove a systematic, though perhaps not very perfect, attempt of the original to designate Old Saxon sounds from point of view of one who was familiar with High German orthography, it being assumed that Kögél (Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, vol. II, 174) has proved that the poem is an Old Saxon poem.

We find nowhere the d of the Saxon (ex. dôd, dead) excepting one or two forms, which can be easily explained. It is almost impossible that d should have been expunged entirely if it was used. The original must have used the High German t for (ex 'tôt') to designate the Saxon d. H.G. t and O.S. d were probably quite similar: the one unvoiced, the other voiced lenis. (The t of the English or North German should not be compared under any circumstances.) Saxon t (ex 'lêttun' let) was rendered in the Inlaut by tt, probably to designate the more strongly articulated t of the Saxon in distinction from the H.G. t. Saxon th was probably designated by d, which is by no means a strange orthography. Germanic k was probably designated in part by ch (Anlaut, Inlaut?) and k (Auslaut). g by g, p by p, b by b or v (Inlaut), w not by the Anglo-Saxon runic symbol but by uu, u,

Germanic ai and ê (= High German ê, ea, ia) by æ and ę, Germanic au by ao.

Dialect: The High German elements were principally introduced by scribe B: no systematic attempt was made to change the Saxon character of the monument, in many cases the changes made by scribe B were probably unconscious and seemed to him purely orthographic, while in reality he destroyed the designation of Saxon sounds. But it must be acknowledged that High German forms have been substituted to a certain extent for Saxon forms, especially particles. The dialect of B is Middle German, as can be shown by a comparison with certain portions of the Old High German Tatian. To determine the exact condition of the original, is of course impossible, and a thorough examination of this point would lead beyond the limits set to this paper; but considering the fact that the orthography of the original shows such strong High German influence, the possibility exists, that the forms of the original already showed High German influence in vocabulary and inflection.

10. "Notes on Syllabication—its importance in teaching French Pronunciation."¹ By Professor Atkinson Jenkins, Vanderbilt University.

Brugmann says: "An expiration, simply allowed to die away, contains but one point of expiration. If, on the other hand, fluctuations in the expiratory impulse take place, still other points become perceptible alongside the principal point; these, owing to their smaller force, are felt as subordinate to the principal point."²

This lucid description coincides with Sievers' distinction between expiratory syllables (*Expirationssilben*) and sound syllables (*Schallsilben*), and gives the key to the main difference between French and English syllabication.

English '*culpability*' has two expiratory syllables: to the first (*cul.p*) is joined the sound-syllable *p.a*; to the second (*bi.l*) are joined two sound-

¹For a careful analysis of the main features of syllable formation, see Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik* (3d ed.), § 29. Criticisms on the same by Vietor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, § 143 ff; a summary of the same in Jespersen, *The Articulations of Speech Sounds*, § 49. For some useful practical rules (English, French, German), see Soames, *An Introduction to Phonetics*, pp. 72, 137, 160. For syllable division in Latin, and a comparison with the Romance languages, see Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein*, p. 137 ff. For a very brief treatment of English syllable division, see Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics*, p. 60 ff. For a few hints in regard to French, see Passy, *Les Sons du Français* (3d ed.), §§ 103-110; also Beyer, *Französische Phonetik*, §§ 70-71. For some additional hints, not given elsewhere, see Koschwitz, *Grammatik der Neufranzösischen Schriftsprache*, I, § 33.

²*Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, I, § 667, 4.

syllables *li-t* and *ty*. The syllable divisions lie not before or after *p, l, t* respectively, but in these consonants; *b* begins a new expiratory syllable.

In general, for colloquial French,¹ we have a *separate expiratory effort for each syllable*. A useful device in teaching English students to make a series of even expiratory efforts is to require them to repeat the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., or the letters a, b, c, d, etc., before uttering the French word: *cul-pa-bi-li-té* = a b c d E (Capital letter = tonic syllable).

To this rule there are at least two classes of exceptions: 1. *PASSY* notes *créé* and *il a à aller*, etc.; 2. the writer's observations confirm his belief that in *vous êtes douce*, the atonic syllable *te(s)* is a sound-syllable, and not an expiratory syllable: there is no *separate expiratory effort* in its production. The effort which produces the syllable *te(s)* is to be classed as a fluctuation in the expiratory impulse which produces the syllable *é*.² The accentuation and syllabication, therefore, of French *garde* (in the phrase *un garde fou*) and English *garter* approach identity in so far as the different organic basis of the two tongues will permit.

The suppression and retention of atonic *e*, a thorny subject to beginners in French, should be approached historically, by showing that all atonic *e*'s were formerly pronounced. The usual rules for syllable division once applied as well to words with atonic *e* as to others.

The empiric rules for syllable division in French are extremely useful to students in attempting long or otherwise difficult words, and are indispensable as a basis for a study of French versification.

Synopsis of rules: A. CONSONANTS. I. a. Single consonants between vowels; b. digraphs and trigraphs; c. doubled consonants (add *mn, sce, sci*, and note *en-nui*); d. *n* + consonant, *m* + consonant (*mon-ter*; *lam-beau*; *bron-cher*; *vin-ses*); e. final consonants in *liaison* (*mo-t à-mot*; *lou-ch(e) à-tout*; *be-ll(e) à-voir*). II. a. A consonant group of which *r* or *l* is the final member, unites with the following vowel (*ca-dran*; *sou-e(e)rain*); b. case of *su-ppri-mer*; *A-phro-dite*; c. an *n* or *m* may precede a group of this kind without changing the rule (*en-trer*; *lam-p(e)ron*). III. a. In a consonant group of which *r* or *l* is the first member, the *r* (or *l*) belongs to the vowel which precedes it (*por-ter*; *lor-gner*; *meur-trir* (cf. II. a.); *pal(e)-froi*); b. secondary groups (*cal(e)-çon*; *tell(e)-ment*; *lour-d(e)rie*). IV. Consonant groups of which *s* is the first member³ (*res-ter*; *plas-tron*). V. Words with final atonic *e*. VI. Other groups (*x, ch, bs*, etc.).

¹ It is necessary, of course, to draw the distinction between the division of *uttered* words into syllables and the division of *written* words into syllables. The latter subject is one for printers, and also has its importance in dividing words at the end of the line of the written page. But it is only of the *spoken* division into syllables that the present paper treats.

² There is, of course, *liaison* (*s = z*) in *vous êtes*.

³ The dictionaries of SACHS and LAROUSSE divide *e-spé-rer*; LESIAINT and the *Dictionnaire Général* divide *es-pé-rer*, and this represents the impression of the average observer.

B. VOWELS. Real diphthongs have only a sporadic existence in French. Two vowels in contact either form two syllables, or one of them becomes a consonant. As a working rule, *i*, *ou*, *u* + vowel form but one syllable with the vowel in all cases except when they are immediately preceded by consonant + *l* (or *r*): *miette*, but *gri-ef*, etc.; *fouet*, but *trou-er*, etc.; *luire*, but *bru-ire*, etc.¹

On account of the absence of the author this paper was not read.

11. "Nasalis and Liquida Sonans in Indo-European." By Professor G. E. Karsten, of the University of Indiana.

12. "A physiological Criticism of the Sonant Theory." By H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago.

This paper will appear in the *American Journal of Philology*.

13. "Steinmar von Klingnau." Professor G. L. Swiggett, Purdue University.

This paper was a further contribution to the controversy, championed respectively by Burdach and Wilmanns, as to whether there existed in and native to Germany before the appearance of the Minnesinger, a popular poetry, or whether this lyric came along with the epic from Romance sources. Mention was made of the early German's love for poetry and of the fact that it is this Volkspoesie, deep-rooted in the national consciousness, that has given stability and endurance to the growth of the German people. The Christian poetry in Germany was grafted on this popular poetry and soon became tinged with popular tones. On the other hand the popular poetry and songs of France came out of the church service. In Germany the popular airs had crept into the church service and transmitted to France gave that country its popular music, for up to the eleventh century France possessed none of its own. The chanson was set to music of viol and lute. The beast-fable in Germany was lyric with epic touches and the latter became fully developed as soon as it came in its wanderings to the Netherlands and North France, where it finally made its home.

¹According to Koschwitz, *i*, *ou*, and *u* do not usually go over into the corresponding consonants in verbs of one-syllable stems in *i*, *ou*, and *u*; for example, *nier* (2 syllables), *riez* (2 syllables), *muer* (2 syllables). But the observations of other phoneticians do not support this contention. We have, for example, *fier* (verb) as one syllable in the *Dictionnaire Général*, and *tuer* as one syllable, according to Passy.

The biographical data for Steinmar von Klingnau are few. Walther von Klingen's Records speak of him twice, 1254 and 1270, as citizen in his legal capacity of witness, and in his poems there are two historical allusions which point to about 1290 as his knightly period. The Heidelberger manuscript contains the poems of Steinmar, fourteen in number; but few as they are they lend themselves well to the attempt to prove the naïveté and simplicity of the German lyric and its freedom from foreign suggestions. There is but one poem that shows to any extent the development of an epic situation. Steinmar's poetry is essentially a Nature poetry as is shown in the "Natureingang" and the refrain; here one finds mirrored the harmony or discord of the poet's mood and the picture from Nature. Most of Steinmar's figures are to be found in the Volkslied.

Because of lack of time the last four papers read were not discussed; paper No. 14 was postponed for the next session.
Adjourned at 6 p. m.

FOURTH SESSION.

The meeting was called to order on Wednesday morning at 8.40 a. m.; President Carruth occupied the chair. Reading of papers.

14. "The Dialect of the *Hildebrandslied*." By Dr. Francis A. Wood, of Chicago, Ill.

Remarks on this paper were made by Professors Eggert, Blackburn, and the author.

15. "At what Age should Foreign Languages be studied?" By Paul Grummann, of the Manual Training School, Indianapolis.

The discussion was participated in by Professors Blackburn, Eggert, Carruth, Cutting, and the author.

16. "Romance Allegory from Chaucer to Spenser." By Mrs. Viola Price Franklin, of Chicago, Ill.

17. "Omissions, Additions, and Mistakes in the Old French Translation of the Sermons of Pope Gregory on *Ezekiel*." By Dr. Eugene Leser, of the University of Indiana.

The paper will be published elsewhere.

Remarks were made by Professors C. A. Smith, Bruner, Blackburn, and the author.

18. "Studies in *Macbeth*." By Albert H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago.

The report of the Committee on Organization was then presented; the whole report, consisting of the modified Constitution, was adopted.

Constitution of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America:

ARTICLE I.

1. The name of this Society shall be *The Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America*.

2. Its object shall be the advancement of the scientific study and teaching of the modern languages and literatures in the Central States.

3. All persons elected members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association shall be *ipso facto* members of the Modern Language Association of America.

ARTICLE II.

1. The officers shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Council of ten, composed of the above officers and four other members of the Division.

3. An Executive Committee of three, composed of the Secretary and two other members of the Division, shall be appointed by the members of the Executive Council present at the annual meeting.

4. The officers and the Executive Council shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Division at such place and at such time as shall have been determined upon at a preceding annual meeting.

2. At the annual meeting, the Secretary and the Treasurer shall present their annual reports.

3. The Executive Committee shall make all necessary arrangements for the meetings of the Division.

4. The Executive Council may call special meetings.

ARTICLE IV.

Any one recommended by the Executive Council may become a member of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

ARTICLE V.

1. All papers shall be submitted, through the Secretary, to the Executive Committee at least one month in advance of the meeting at which they are to be presented, and the action of this Committee regarding such papers shall be final.

2. All Publications of the Division shall be made under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at the last session of any regular annual meeting, provided the proposed amendments have received the approval of the Executive Council.

The Committee on Place of Meeting reported next: the choice between Cleveland, St. Louis and Nashville was left open for discussion before the Association. The motion of Dr. von Klenze that St. Louis be chosen, was followed by a discussion in which Professors C. A. Smith, Bruner, Heller, Hench and Nollen took part. Professor Nollen moved that the meeting be held at Cleveland; discussion by Professors Hench, Tolman, Blackburn, Schmidt-Wartenberg, Bruner, and C. A. Smith. The substitute motion of Professor Bruner, to leave the arrangement to the Committee on Organization, was finally carried.

The Committee on Time of Meeting had not reached a definite conclusion; on motion of Professor Tolman this question was also referred to the Committee on Organization.

The Auditing Committee reported as follows :

The undersigned, a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, beg leave to report that we have examined the list of receipts and expenditures submitted for our inspection, together with the vouchers for the latter, and that we find the same correct.

F. A. Blackburn,
J. A. Wickersham.

The Committee appointed to reply to Professor C. E. Fay's letter was asked to report later.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers made the following announcement :

It has been agreed to distribute the offices as fairly as possible among the Departments and the States represented at the convention.

The following is the selection :

President, W. H. Carruth (Univ. of Kansas).

First Vice-President, C. A. Smith (Univ. of Louisiana).

Second Vice-President, E. F. Owen (Univ. of Wisconsin).

Third Vice-President, G. A. Hench (Univ. of Michigan).

Secretary, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg (Univ. of Chicago).

Treasurer, J. Th. Fruit (Bethel College, Ky.).

Members of the Council: G. E. Karsten (Univ. of Indiana), W. M. Baskervill (Vanderbilt Univ.), H. Edgren (Univ. of Nebraska), S. Whitcomb (Iowa College).

The report was accepted, and the candidates named were chosen to officially represent the Central Division of the Modern Language Association for the year 1896.

By a vote of the Association the Committee on Organization was instructed to return thanks to President Rogers for his kind invitation to meet next year at Evanston.

On motion of Professor Gerber the following resolution was unanimously passed by the Association :

The Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, convened in Chicago for its first annual meeting, expresses its sincere thanks to the University of Chicago, and its Modern Language Departments, and to the authorities of the Newberry Library, of the Field Columbian Museum and of the Art Institute for their hospitality and the many favors shown to the members of this Organization.

The reading of papers was then continued.

19. "The Language of Carlyle as Affected by the German."
By Mr. Percy B. Burnett, of the University of Nebraska.

The syntax of a familiar foreign language, as well as individual words, may be naturalized. It is common to hear it asserted that Carlyle strained English to make it resemble German. Carlyle himself thought German had not affected him much, although calling himself a "thoroughly Germanized soul." He was twenty-eight before he began to know German well, hence he was not likely to use Germanisms unconsciously.

He uses *passim*, the inverted order of sentence, paralleling the German while making the English noticeably odd. And what is more striking, he uses (1) the transposed order (e. g., "how much there already here is," *Reminisc.*, I, 69), but only with the verb *be*, (2) the German position for both participles (e. g., "which you have before this received," Froude, II, 127, "a society-cultivated woman," Froude, II, 222), (3) infinitives (e. g., "and will to thee be," *Reminisc.*, I, 192), and (4) particles (e. g., "used to come often down," *Ibid.*, I, 70).

He uses the verb *be* as auxiliary in past tenses; the definite article with proper names.

Carlyle appears to affect older or rarer English, but does not err on the side of vulgarity. He is fond of the King James biblical style.

It is not to be deduced from Carlyle's language when he began to study German. While it is still true that the mother-tongue is more real than any acquired language can become, it is as true that many words appreciated in a foreign language have no equivalents for us in our own. So Carlyle often takes words or whole clauses bodily from other languages. He uses *thee* and *thou* in their German significance—this oftenest in his home letters.

Readers of Carlyle notice promptly his comparison of adjectives, where he adds *-er*, *-est* to the longest words as well as to the shortest, but he does not use the type "most strictest." In this also he would not do differently if he wished to imitate German. But long *-er* comparatives occur every-

where in English. In the frequency of them lies their significance with Carlyle.

Carlyle took keen pleasure in reviving older usages. He restored sub-junctives, old ways of compounding, in short set the language growing again. He seemed to like quaintness in diction as some do in dress, for one's knowledge of other tongues need not betray itself in one's native tongue. Many things that at first sight in Carlyle appear foreign to English are simply rare. Aside from bad English and foreign quotations everything of Carlyle's can be found in accepted English. Carlyle's thinking was vigorous and independent, but his vehicle of expression, his words, were affected by every language he knew. His language will become a great hindrance to his immortality, for it is incompatible with art, and "art alone can give perpetuity to learning."

20. "The Laws of Hiatus -i in Gallic Popular Latin." By Dr. René de Poyen-Bellisle, of the University of Chicago.

21. "Homunculus." By Professor A. Gerber, of Earlham College.

Remarks on this paper were made by Professor Cutting and the author.

22. "Goethe's Philosophy." By Professor Lawrence Fossler, of the Nebraska State University. [By title.]

23. "Gothic *gub*." By Professor George A. Hench, of the University of Michigan.

I. An examination of the three plural forms of *gub* preserved in Wulfila's Bible, *guda*, J. 10, 34, 35 and *gþa*, Gal. 4, 8, shows that they refer, contrary to the accepted view, not to false but to true gods, and are, therefore, not to be separated from the singular. The distinction of Gothic *gub* m. (*deus*) from *galiugagub* n. (*idolum*) is parallel to that of Ohg. *got* m. from *abgot* n.

II. The singular forms, which always occur in abbreviation, nom. acc. *gþ*, gen. *gþs*, dat. *gþa*, are to be expanded into *gub*, *gudis*, *guda*, not *gups*, *gupa*, as is the universal practice. The final proof of this statement is the interchange of *gþa* and *guda* in the plural forms cited above, also in the compounds *gþaskaunein*, Philip. 2, 6, *gþbiostreis*, J. 9, 31, *gudafaurhts*, L. 2, 25, *gudhusa*, J. 18, 20, especially in *gudalausai*, Eph. 2, 12, which appears in Ambros. A. written out as given, in Ambros. B. abbreviated *gþalausai*. The

abbreviation was formed from the nom. acc. sg., where the original voiced spirant had become voiceless. Other case-forms in abbreviation, also the abbreviated stem-form in compounds, were made by adding the ending or the last letter of the ending to the constant symbol *gb*.

The paper will be published in full elsewhere.

The paper was discussed by Professors Schmidt-Wartenberg, Karsten, Blackburn, and the author.

The meeting adjourned at 1 o'clock p. m.

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